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EARL BROWDER

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SAM DON

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THE COMMUNIST

A MAGAZINE OF THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF MARXISM-LENINISM

EDITOR: EARL BROWDER

CONTENTS

Teheran—History's Greatest Turning Point	*Earl Browder*	3
The Teheran Decisions Promise Mankind A Durable Peace		9
Leninism and Foreign Policy	*Sam Don*	13
For Unity in China's War of Resistance		25
Critique of Chiang Kai-shek's Book: "China's Destiny"	*Chen Pai-ta*	31
Urgent Questions of Party Growth and Organization	*John Williamson*	63
The Battle Over Subsidies	*Mac Gordon*	72
On the Negroes and the Right of Self-Determination	*Earl Browder*	83
A Perspective for Forging Negro-White Unity	*John Pittman*	86
Historic Documents		92

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TEHERAN—HISTORY'S GREATEST TURNING POINT

BY EARL BROWDER

(An Address delivered at Rakosi Hall, Bridgeport, Connecticut, December 12, 1943.)

THE recent international conferences at Moscow, Cairo, and Teheran have consolidated the coalition of Britain, America and the Soviet Union as the leadership of the United Nations and have given us a clear perspective of victory in the war and an orderly, peaceful world after that victory.

I have noticed with great interest that most of the newspapers and public commentators have as yet not awakened to the great historic significance of the Teheran Declaration. It seems to be taken as a matter of course that the representatives of the great capitalist United States, the head of the British Empire and leader of the great Tory party in Britain, and the Premier and Marshal of the Soviet Union could get together and announce that they have reached complete agreement as to the means required to win this war in the shortest possible time, that they have assessed the problems of the post-war world and can assure the world that they have seen, and are determined to carry through, the possibilities of order in the world as the result of victory, banishing the scourge of war from this earth for some generations to come.

To me this is no ordinary and routine announcement. I understand this as the greatest, most important turning point in all history.

What the Military Measures Mean

It is not necessary to spend much time discussing the significance of the military measures agreed upon for pressing the war to a victorious conclusion. This means, of course, that the calendar has been set for the full exertion of American and British military power against the enemy. The much discussed question of the second front has been settled, and clearly, in the only way allowed by military considerations; that is, British and American armed forces are poised for invasion in force in the west of Europe in the next weeks.

America is going into action, and this means that the real fighting war is now opening for us. It is not going to be easy to carry out this first part of the agreement at Teheran; it is going to be costly, and

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hundreds of thousands of American lives will have to be given to execute it. That is part of the price of victory; that is part of the price of wiping out the menace of the Axis; that is part of the price for the development of a free world. And if America were not ready to pay that price, America would not be deserving of its liberty.

But America is and has been ready honorably to perform its tasks in this war, and now we have the assurance that our American military effort will be geared into a unified world effort in which the forces of Britain and the great victorious armies of the Soviet Union will be fully coordinated and will strike a great blow against the enemy from all sides. We have the full guarantee that our efforts will not be wasted, that the price we have to pay will bring the goal that we must have — a victory which opens up the path of progress for the world and which will remove for all time the threat of the destruction of civilization which for years has been hanging over it.

Despite all the predictions of the pessimists, it has been possible to bring about such united, unified, coordinated program between the three great powers, regardless of all differences of ideology or interest that may exist between them. This has been possible because the great over-riding interest of all, the common interest, has been the defeat of the enemy of civilization, because the alternative to this agreement would be to watch the world slide down into the abyss of chaos, anarchy and fascism.

There has been much more pessimism as to whether that unity could be continued after the war. Many people have said: Yes, in the face of the menace of Hitlerism, the three great powers were forced to get together; but how about the day when Hitlerism is destroyed? What will hold these three great powers together then? Will not the coalition fly apart as soon as the common enemy has been destroyed? There is no lack of prophets of doom who assure us every day that it is impossible to conceive of the continuation of this coalition into the post-war period.

The Teheran Agreement Means What It Says

Well, Franklin Roosevelt, Winston Churchill and Joseph Stalin met together personally to assess that question and they have given us the assurance over their signatures that in their judgment it is possible, and they are determined to see that it is realized, that this coalition is extended into the post-war period and organizes around itself all freedom-loving nations of the earth in a general association of equals.

I think that we can take that promise at its face value. I think we need have no fears that this is a diplomatic formula to cover up disagreements. I am fully aware of the fact that public documents cannot always be taken at their face value. I am also aware that men who reach agreements with the full intention of executing them are not always able to carry them out. But I am convinced that this agreement can be accepted at its face value be-

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cause the men who made and reached that agreement are, in my judgment, each one of them firmly and honestly determined to make good on it, but above all because the great forces in the world outside these men, and operating through them in the reaching of the agreement, are working in that same direction.

It is evident that the removal of the common enemy, the Axis, will not remove all the great dangers of the world. After military victory has been achieved in this war, there is another great menace to civilization which must be defeated, another enemy on which Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin had their eyes and which they prepared to defeat. That other enemy of civilization is the threat of discord and disunity among the victorious powers after this war.

There is a growing realization among all intelligent men in the world today that should victory over the Axis be followed by a new political disintegration and break-up of world order, as a result of any serious rift and division among the three great powers leading the United Nations, the victory over Hitlerism and the Axis would be jeopardized and the world would still witness the destruction of civilization through the spread of civil wars and their culmination in a new great international war.

The Only Hope for Civilization in Our Time

There are plenty of explosive forces gathered throughout the world today to ensure that that will happen, unless it is consciously prevented by policy and by organization of all the intelligent people of the world; and the sign and signal of that gathering of all the intelligent forces of the world is the Teheran Declaration of Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin. That is the only hope of a continuance of civilization in our time. That is why I can accept and support and believe in the Declaration at Teheran and make it the starting point for all my thinking about the problems of our country and the world. I can do this because I have confidence in the intelligence of the masses of the people of the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union, because I have confidence in the type of a combined world leadership that is represented in the combination of those three men who met at Teheran.

If this agreement were taken away or had no meaning there would be nothing but chaos and anarchy facing us in the future. It is this understanding of the significance of the agreement in Teheran which we must bring to the people of America so that they will begin to understand our country's tasks and responsibilities in the light of this great overwhelming issue before the world and the solution laid down in that agreement.

The Teheran Declaration is very short and simple. This has been confusing to many people who think that great international documents must be very long and very complicated. As a matter of fact, there is only one way to understand this agreement, and that is to take it

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at its face value — that it means what it says. If you try to evaluate it in any other way you are certain to go wrong, as Dorothy Thompson did when, in the early part of last week, she summed up the Teheran Conference with the wise-crack that never before in history had so few kept so much information from so many. A few days later Miss Thompson came out in another column in which she gave exactly the opposite interpretation of the Teheran Agreement. Well, her first reaction was much worse than the second, but I am afraid that her second was not so good either, because she gave a very complicated and involved explanation, according to which the real meaning of Teheran was that the conferees had made an offer to the German people for peace.

The Threat From Within

Now, it is true that the Teheran Conference holds out the only perspective for peace that is possible for the German people, but that is only incidental. The main thing, that Miss Thompson completely missed, is that the Teheran Conference holds out the only offer of peace to the entire world. And this is the understanding of the Anglo-Soviet-American Alliance that must penetrate the whole American people. The realization of this post-war perspective still has to be secured; and there remain serious threats against it. I am speaking now not about the threat of the Axis; I am speaking about the threat inside the United States and the forces that are gathering to knife the Teheran Conference, to destroy the policy that was set up there and to take America onto a new, the most dangerous, path that has ever been offered to our country. Every voice today that is raised in America to cast doubt and suspicion upon the Teheran Agreements, represents the gathering forces of reaction, obscurantism and anarchy in American life, and there are all too many of such forces in this country.

America must be armed against these efforts, which are receiving highly organized direction and which are gathering with the hope and the expectation that they will seize control of our country in the 1944 elections. Do I need to spend much time identifying these people for you? Most of you know them; but do your neighbors? How many hundreds of thousands and millions of your neighbors have as yet only the slightest inkling of the great problems involved in this question of where one stands on the Teheran Conference? Are you for it or are you against it? Are you supporting it or are you undermining it and casting suspicion upon it, preparing to turn our nation away from it? That is the great dividing line within our country today, and it will divide us in the elections of 1944; everything else is incidental to that.

Teheran Represents a New World Perspective

Now, there are many things that are not explicitly stated in the Teheran Conference Declaration, but which are involved and implied in it and which we must begin to

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understand. We must understand that when the Socialist Soviet Union and the British Empire and the great capitalist United States arrive at a common policy for the war and for the post-war reconstruction of the world, this is something new and therefore represents a policy that has no parallel in past history. It means that these three great powers have reached a compromise on a policy which represents the historical tendencies not exclusively characteristic of any one of the three, but which is in fact something quite new. It means, in the first place, that Britain and the United States have closed the books finally and forever upon their old expectation that the Soviet Union as a socialist country is going to disappear some day. The Socialist Soviet Union is accepted as a permanent member of the family of nations, and the policy of destruction of the Soviet Union, which has been a permanent feature of the policy of the great capitalist powers since 1917, is finally ended. In its place, the Teheran Conference has not only strengthened the fighting alliance of the anti-Hitler Coalition, but has established a relationship for peaceful post-war collaboration between the Soviet Union, Britain, and the United States.

Such an agreement necessarily means that most of Europe west of the Soviet Union probably will be reconstructed on a bourgeois-democratic, non-fascist capitalist basis, not upon a Soviet basis. But it will be a capitalist basis which is conditioned by the principle of complete democratic self-determination for each nation, allowing full expression within each nation of all progressive and constructive forces and setting up no obstacles to the development of democracy and social progress in accordance with the varying desires of the peoples. It means a perspective for Europe minimizing, and to a great extent eliminating altogether, the threat of civil war after the internation war.

As far as the United States is concerned, therefore, all those who want to strengthen the coalition and minimize the forces within our domestic life that will fight to break up the coalition, must help to remove from the American ruling class the fear of a socialist revolution in the United States in the post-war period. They must be guided by the great issues which are involved in a unified world policy on the basis of the agreements at Teheran. They must understand the great role which the united moral forces of Britain, America and the Soviet Union will play in guiding the masses of the world in the post-war period. These moral forces will be a hundred times more important than our military forces after the war is over, because we cannot possibly guide the post-war developments by military control, but we can guide them by a moral control that is buttressed by the Anglo-Soviet-American Coalition.

New Guides for a New World

The fulfillment of this perspective, this world policy that flows from the Teheran Agreement, will require the readjustment of our

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whole political and social life. We are only beginning this readjustment now. Every class, every group, every individual, every political party in America will have to readjust itself to this great issue embodied in the policy given to us by Roosevelt, Stalin and Churchill. The country is only beginning to face it so far. Everyone must begin to draw the conclusions from it and adjust himself to the new world that is created by it. Old formulas and old prejudices are going to be of no use whatever to us as guides to find our way in this new world. We are going to have to draw together all men and all groups with intelligence enough to see the overwhelming importance of this issue, to understand that upon its correct solution depends the fate of our country and the fate of civilization throughout the world.

We shall have to be prepared to break with anyone that refuses to support and fight for the realization of the Teheran Agreement and the Anglo-Soviet-American Coalition. We must be prepared to give the hand of cooperation and fellowship to everyone who fights for the realization of this coalition. If J. P. Morgan supports this coalition and goes down the line for it, I as a Communist am prepared to clasp his hand on that and join with him to realize it. Class divisions or political groupings have no significance now except as they reflect one side or the other of this issue.

This is the great issue for 1944. This is the all-decisive problem the country has to solve. Every other problem depends upon it, and the solutions of all other problems stand or fall according as this main issue is settled.

At the present moment we do not know just how the issue is going to be presented to us for the 1944 campaign in terms of parties and candidates. We do not even know whether Franklin Roosevelt is going to be a candidate for President in the 1944 elections. But I think it is clear to almost all working men and to most intelligent people of this country of all classes, that the only way this issue can be presented to the country clearly and sharply, with the maximum expectation of a correct position, is, if the people of America are able to raise their voices with sufficient clarity and volume to convince Mr. Roosevelt that he must be the candidate for President in 1944.

The problem is whether, in this country and in Britain, we have the character and the intelligence to rise to the supreme opportunity presented to the world by Roosevelt, Stalin and Churchill: whether we will make good with the full force of our country the agreement that they reached at Teheran.

I hope that this meeting will be only one of tens of thousands of meetings at which this question will be discussed throughout America, so that before we even reach the period of the election campaign next year, America will be so thoroughly united on the maintenance and the full realization of the Teheran program for the world, that anyone who stands against it will be driven out of American public life.

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THE TEHERAN DECISIONS PROMISE MANKIND A DURABLE PEACE *

SEVERAL meetings and conferences of leading statesmen and military figures of the great democratic countries which head the struggle of the United Nations against Hitlerite Germany and her vassals have been held in the course of the war. These meetings have played a highly important role in the history of the liberation struggle of the peoples. A common understanding of the aims and tasks and a community of views and actions have been forged at them.

The course of the war has dictated the need of joint actions on increasingly bigger scales; understanding and good will have led the three greatest world powers to ever closer cooperation.

In the war against the common enemy it has always been considered necessary to attain the fullest coordination of actions and concerted military operation. Relations between the participants of the Anglo - Soviet - American coalition have developed precisely along these lines. As in the past, so this year too, the blows struck by the Red Army were supported by military operations of our Allies in North Africa, in the Mediterranean and in Southern Italy. The successes of the Red Army as well as of Allied arms hastened the course of the war, further strengthened the fighting alliance of the Allied States and brought closer victory over Hitlerite Germany.

The recent Moscow Conference has conclusively shown that the most complex tasks in the conduct of the war and the organization of peace can be solved in a firm alliance of the United States, the U.S.S.R. and Great Britain. The moment arrived in the course of the joint struggle and the development of cooperation when the President of the U.S.A., the leader of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. and the head of the British Government met for the first time to settle fundamental questions relating to war and peace.

For four days the most prominent statesmen of our times conferred at the round table, exchanged views and made decisions, reaching complete agreement both on questions of the conduct of the war and on important problems of the post-war organization of the world.

This meeting had been awaited with hope by all freedom-loving peoples, and with fear by our enemies.

Those who carefully read and give thought to the Three-Power Decla-

* An editorial in *Izvestia*, Moscow, December 14, 1943.

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ration signed by Roosevelt, Stalin and Churchill will understand that the fate of the war has been irrevocably decided. The mutual understanding reached between the leaders of the three powers—quoting them directly—"guarantees our victory."

As is known, from the beginning of the war the material resources and potential possibilities of the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R. and Great Britain supplied a stable basis for achieving victory over the enemy. It was a question of realizing these possibilities to the full, of using the existing resources to the utmost. On the eve of the Teheran meeting, Stalin, in his report on November 6, 1943, stated: "The victories of the Red Army have had results and consequences far beyond the limits of the Soviet-German front; they have changed the whole further course of the world war and have acquired great international significance. Victory of the Allied Countries over the common enemy has come nearer. . . . Now our United Countries are filled with determination to deal the enemy common blows which will result in victory over him." This clearly expressed the confidence that was brilliantly confirmed at Teheran.

In a joint declaration the leaders of the three powers declare: "We have concerted our plans for the destruction of the German forces. We have reached complete agreement as to the scope and timing of operations which will be undertaken from the east, west and south." This decision is the greatest triumph of the principle of concerted coalition strategy against the common foe.

The realization of this principle was at all times considered the most difficult of all the tasks in the conduct of joint war. Now the military staffs of the Allies have elaborated plans for decisive operations, have reached an agreement as to the scope and timing of the operations, and have received the sanction of the leaders of the three powers for these plans. The time has been set. The date of the decisive battle has been appointed. It is a question of a general offensive on Germany from the east, west and south, of the final rout and destruction of German armed forces.

The conference fully weighed the strength of the enemy. After this the leaders of the three greatest armies in the word, conferring with their highest military experts, declared: "No power on earth can prevent our destroying the German armies by land, their U-boats by sea, and their war plants from the air. Our attacks will be relentless and increasing."

It is with a feeling of the greatest satisfaction that all freedom-loving peoples will receive the confirmation of a common policy of the Allies in the solemn statement of the President of the United States, the Premier of the Soviet Union and the Prime Minister of Great Britain: "We express our determination that our nations shall work together in the war and in the peace that will follow."

Numerous facts of international life in the recent period have gone to show that the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R.

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and Great Britain, together with other United Nations, are prepared to take upon themselves the responsibility to make a peace which would command the good-will of the overwhelming mass of the peoples of the world. Allied cooperation, also in this sphere, grew stronger and more encouraging daily. The decisions of the Three Power Conference taken in Teheran are the biggest and most far-reaching historical step in this respect. The leaders of the three powers express confidence that the existing concord between the Allies will ensure a durable peace. Here the declaration mentions new, weighty words: Durable peace is considered a peace "which will banish the scourge and terror of war for many generations."

Millions of people will read these words with deep emotion, words which contain the fate of entire generations.

The savage forces of German imperialism hurled the whole world into the gulf of war, subjected dozens of nations to agonizing bloody trials, doomed hundreds of millions of people to torments and sufferings. Supreme responsibility for the future inspired the leaders of the great democratic countries in their decisions. Unquestionably the way to the realization of durable peace lies through the cooperation and active participation of all countries, large and small, and the Three Power Declaration voices its desire for such cooperation.

* * *

The declaration of the three powers concerning Iran, adopted at the Conference in Teheran, affords a vivid example of such cooperation with one of the Allied countries. This Declaration expresses recognition by the Allies of the assistance which Iran has given in the prosecution of the war against the common enemy and also recognition of the need of further economic assistance to the people of Iran by the Allies, and again proclaims the desire of the Allied Powers to see the maintenance of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Iran.

* * *

Stalin recently said that "relations among the Allies, the fighting partnership of their armies, far from weakening, have, contrary to the expectations of our enemies, grown stronger and more enduring." In Teheran the great figures of our epoch, who are shouldering the burden, cares and responsibility to their peoples and to all the peoples of the world for their fate and their future, met and established personal contact.

Roosevelt and Stalin met for the first time at Teheran. Churchill and Stalin had met before during the British Prime Minister's visit to Moscow. But this was the first time that all three statesmen had the opportunity to hold talks together.

Undertaking long trips from their capitals for the sake of this meeting, the leaders of the three countries held conferences in an atmosphere of complete understanding and friendly accord.

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The Conference was attended by Molotov, Eden, Hopkins and Voroshilov, by the Chiefs of the General Staffs of the United States and Great Britain and by advisers and experts of the three countries.

A sentiment of accord, mutual understanding and close cooperation was expressed in the extremely moving words that close the declaration of the leaders of the three powers:

"We came here with hope and determination. We leave here friends in fact, in spirit and in purpose."

The historical meeting in Teheran was imbued with the firm will and determination of the Allies to smash bloody fascism within the earliest possible time by means of combined blows and to open up to mankind the path to a long period of peaceful collaboration.

The declaration of the leaders of the three Allied Powers will have a tremendous positive influence on the future of mankind. The decisions which the Soviet people see signed by their great leader will be received with unbounded satisfaction and will be supported by the peoples of the U.S.S.R. with all their will and efforts.

These decisions will be hailed with great satisfaction by the freedom-loving peoples of the whole world. These decisions carried out in practice will bring mankind liberation from Hitlerite tyranny and will give them long years of durable peace.

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LENINISM AND FOREIGN POLICY

BY SAM DON

THE epoch - making Teheran Conference has immeasurably heightened labor's political tasks for speeding victory and in the cementing of national unity. The Moscow, Cairo, Teheran conferences have indeed heightened the stature of the United Nations coalition—the first of its kind, a grand alliance of leading states united in a war of liberation.

The coming together of Roosevelt, Stalin, and Churchill, the three giant leaders of the anti-fascist coalition, and their toasts of friendship, symbolize the freedom-yearnings of the fascist-enslaved nations and the great power which the peoples wield in shaping a foreign policy that expresses the true national interests of sovereign countries. And coalition warfare emerges as the great coming *deed*.

Labor, with a sense of responsibility and due modesty, may well take pride in the results of the Teheran Conference. It was American and British labor's concern with the foreign policies of their governments which was a contributing force in helping bring about the happy event of the Teheran parley. Even greater now is American labor's duty to strengthen Roosevelt's hand against the rise of the open and concealed fifth column snipings aimed at the President's correct foreign policy.

Foreign policy has always been inextricably linked with domestic policy. Today, the home front must stand guard for the realization of the foreign policy embodied in the Teheran Conference for coalition warfare. The defeatist forces will make the home front a main battlefield in the attempt to impede the realization of the decisions of the "Big Three."

If labor, the most consistent anti-fascist force in the coalition, is to live up to its historic duty and if it is to measure up to its international responsibilities, it should strive to enrich its knowledge and thinking. If ever history called upon labor to draw from the rich treasure of the science of Marxism-Leninism, the time is today.

* * *

This year, on January 21, we commemorate the twentieth anniversary of Lenin's death. Lenin was the founder of the Soviet State, which saved mankind in the crucial days when the Nazi hordes were at the peak of their fiendish power. Lenin was the creator of the Red Army. Lenin was the teacher of

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Stalin. Lenin, as the international working class leader, was a great genius of all times. Lenin, basing himself completely on the principles of Marxism, became a titanic figure among the scientists.

Taking up Marx's teachings on the development of capitalism, Lenin made the epoch-making scientific analysis of the rise of imperialism. It is on the basis of his classic work *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* that Lenin also evolved the fundamental laws of the uneven development of capitalism.

It is from Lenin's teachings on imperialism that we learn to understand the development of wars in our epoch, and the rise of fascism. But the real test of the materialistic dialectical understanding of Lenin's teachings on imperialism, in connection with the laws of the uneven development of capitalism, lies first of all in the understanding that there are *just* and *unjust* wars.

As Lenin, basing himself on the Marxian principles, elaborated the teachings on just and unjust wars, so Stalin, basing himself on Lenin's teachings, revealed the origin and predatory character of fascism and still further developed the Leninist teachings on just and unjust wars and of anti-Hitler coalition politics. The genius of Stalin is acclaimed by the liberty-loving world. The science of Marxism-Leninism has received its great enrichment from Stalin, as is again revealed in the collection of his war-time addresses, *The War of National Liberation.*

* * *

From the first days of the rise of modern capitalist national states, Marx counseled the working class to take an active part in influencing the foreign policies of their governments.

On the occasion of the founding of the Workingmen's (First) International Association in 1864 in London Marx delivered the main address. In that address he exhorted the working class to rally against the foreign policies of the reactionary bourgeois and feudal circles and in support of national progressive-minded foreign policies. He cited as a special case in point the role of the British working class in resisting the attempts of the Tory Palmerston Government to plunge Europe into war to secure victory for the slaveholding Confederacy in America.

With the voice of a great people's tribune Marx declared: "It was not the wisdom of the ruling classes, but the heroic resistance to their criminal folly by the working classes of England that saved the West of Europe from plunging headlong into an infamous crusade for the perpetuation and propagation of slavery on the other side of the Atlantic." And referring to the world-wide reactionary intrigues of the Tsarist government, Marx stated that the foreign policies of the St. Petersburg government "have taught the working classes the duty to master themselves the mysteries of international policies; to watch the diplomatic acts of their respective governments . . . . To fight for such [progressive] foreign policy forms a part of the general struggle

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for the emancipation of the working classes."

Marx, the international proletarian leader, the great humanitarian, summoned the working class to battle in the field of diplomacy, in the field of foreign policies, because that was essential for the welfare of the working class of each particular nation.

Marx, who on the basis of the international development of capitalism, envisioned international working class brotherhood ("Proletarians of all countries unite"), at the same time scorned those who were guilty of "national nihilism." With scientific ardor and with the passion of his convictions, Marx chastised the petty-bourgeois anarchist phrase-monger Proudhon, who read out of existence nationalities as an "absurdity."

Lenin, moved by Marx's teachings on the dialectical development of capitalism, the relationship of classes within a nation, described the historical connection between the growth of the working class and the formation of bourgeois national states:

"Marxian Socialism puts the question of nationality and of the state on the same historical footing not only in the sense of explaining the past but also in the sense of a fearless forecast of the future and of bold practical action for its achievement. Nations are an inevitable product, an inevitable form in the bourgeois epoch of social development. The working class could not grow strong, could not become mature and formed without 'constituting itself within the nation,' without being 'national' (though not in the bourgeois sense of the word)"*

* * *

The rise of imperialism, Lenin taught, confronted humanity with the daily menace of great and frightful wars. Yes, imperialism made wars inevitable, but that does not mean that the working class adopts a fatalistic attitude toward them. On the contrary, Lenin brought to bear his powerful mind not only on searching out the causes of war, but also on how to shape such policies as will enable the working class to play a leading role in the struggle against imperialist wars and for the dialectical transformation of unjust into just wars.

Lenin forewarned and forearmed the working class. He, therefore, called upon the working class and all other sections of society feeling the heavy yoke of monopoly capitalism, to participate actively in the shaping of foreign policies. War may break out overnight, but it "ripens" in the daily political combats of diplomacy and foreign policy. Lenin's writings are replete with the fundamental premise that war is a continuation of politics:

"'War is politics continued by other means.' This famous dictum belongs to one of the profoundest writers on military questions, Clausewitz. Rightly, the Marxists have always considered this axiom as the theoretical foundation for their understanding of the meaning of every war. It is from this very

* V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, International Publishers, Vol. XI, p. 35.

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standpoint that Marx and Engels regarded wars."*

Lenin summoned the working class to master foreign policy. The practical struggle of the working class for anti-imperialist foreign policies demanded that it should see through the machinations and secrets of the foreign policies of the reactionary governments. "It is a pity" Lenin wrote, "that the masses can read neither books dealing with the history of diplomacy, nor the leading articles in the capitalist press."**

It is in such a manner that Lenin prepared the international working class for active struggle against imperialism and for a proper understanding of just and unjust wars.

For the working class to play an active, conscious part, it was necessary that it should cleanse its ranks of reactionary Social-Democratic ideology. Lenin carried on a merciless struggle against Right Social-Democracy, headed by the Prussianized German Social-Democratic leaders who denied the imperialist character of the world war of 1914-18, as well as against the "Leftists," of the Bukharin, Radek type who denied the possibility of just wars. As Lenin charged Social-Democracy with participation in the responsibility for the ravages of the imperialist war, so history will hold Social-Democracy responsible for the rise of fascism, for German fascist imperialism's drive for world conquest, for the scourge of Munichism.

Lenin's struggle against Social-Democracy had a practical meaning in terms of the lives of the millions who suffered and for the future of mankind:

"The war [1914-18] would not have been so destructive, and perhaps would not even have assumed such dimensions, if the parties of the Second [Socialist] International had not betrayed the cause of the working class, if they had not violated the anti-war decisions of the congresses of the Second International, if they had dared to act and to rouse the working class against their imperialist governments, against the warmongers."*

At the very height of the imperialist World War of 1914-18, Lenin castigated those who sought to deny the possibility of just national wars. In his sharp polemics with some of the future Right and Trotskyite traitors (Bukharin, Radek, Kievsky-Piatakov) who denied the possibility of just wars, Lenin made clear that for a proper understanding of the nature of a war, the central question is of what politics is the war a continuation. He declared:

"The important thing for the philistine is: Where are the armies standing? Who is winning at the particular moment? For the Marxist the important thing is what is the object of the particular war, in the course of which first one and then the other army may gain victories?

"How, then, can the real nature

* *Ibid.*, Vol. XIX, p. 224.
** V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XX, Book II, p. 64.

* *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, International Publishers, p. 180.

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of a war be ascertained; how can it be determined? War is the continuation of politics. We must study the politics that preceded the war, the politics that led to and brought about the war. If the politics were national liberation politics, *i.e.*, the expression of a mass movement against national oppression, then the war that emerged from these politics is a war for national liberation."*

As Lenin was battling those who would deny the imperialist nature of the war of 1914, he declared with equal vigor that "To go so far as to repudiate a war which is really being fought for the liberation of the nations is the worst caricature of Marxism."**

Lenin taught that in estimating the nature of a war, in shaping foreign policy, one must be guided by the dialectical method of discerning what is primary and what is of a secondary, transient nature. Thus, drawing upon American history, he contrasted the national-liberation character of our war of 1776 with the first World War:

"France was defeated and lost part of her colonies. Several years later the North American states started a war for national liberation against England alone. Out of the enmity towards England, *i.e.*, in conformity with their own imperialist interests, France and Spain, which still held parts of what are now the United States, concluded friendly treaties with the States that had risen against England. The French forces together with the American defeated the English. Here we have a war for National Liberation in which imperialist rivalry is a contributory element of no great importance, which is the opposite of what we have in the War of 1914-16 (in which the national element in the Austro-Serbian war is of no great importance compared with the all-determining imperialist rivalry). This shows how absurd it would be to employ the term imperialism in a stereotyped fashion by deducing from it that national wars are 'impossible.' "*

We will cite one more example of how Lenin directly employs the dialectical method in establishing the main historical features as a guide for shaping policy:

"Marxist dialectics, being the last word of the scientific evolutionary method, forbid an isolated, *i.e.*, a one-sided distorted view of an object. The national element of the Serbo-Austrian war has *no* significance, and can have none, in the general [1914] European war."**

When the second world war broke out in 1939, Munichism and imperialist aspects were the dominant features. However, with Hitler's attack on the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, and the consequent ripening of some of the national-liberation features of the 1939 war (Hitler's invasion of Yugoslavia, Greece and France), the dominant, lasting feature of the new phase of the war became its *just* character. This became the starting point for history's great, worldwide war for national liberation. In each case the policy of the Communist Party of the United States, enriched by

* Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XIX, p. 219.
** *Ibid.*, p. 221.

* *Ibid.*, p. 204.
** *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 299.

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Lenin's teachings and those of our own history, was shaped according to what constituted the main feature in defining the just or unjust character of the war.

(The dominant imperialist aspects of the first phase of the 1939 war gave it a common feature with that of the war of 1914-18. At the same time, because of the existence of the Soviet Union, and the rise of fascism as the chief expression of imperialism, there were features present unlike those in the war of 1914. Thus, the objective possibilities had been created for a rapid change of the character of the war.)

As the anti-fascist world hails with joy the Moscow and Teheran decisions there comes to mind one of the finest dialectical statements contained in Comrade Browder's book, *Victory—And After.*

". . . But the fact that the war, breaking out of the bounds of imperialism, has presented all nations, even the imperialist powers, no alternative between destruction at the hands of the Axis or victory on the condition of alliance with the Soviet Union and the liberation of Nations, the abolition of the colonial system. Thus have even conscious imperialists been conscripted by history for a war which is essentially anti-imperialist." (p. 173)

The Moscow and Teheran conferences bring further to mind Comrade Browder's writings:

"The Communist Party of the United States foresees that out of victory for the United Nations will come a peace which will be guaranteed by the cooperation of the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain and China, as the chief organizing forces of the post-war world organization. This will make possible the solution of reconstruction problems, with a minimum of social disorder and civil violence, in the various countries most concerned, especially the devastated countries where the problem will be most acute. We declare that our thoughts and deeds will be faithfully and energetically directed to realize this promised perspective for the world, and for our own country, in the utmost possible degree. We offer our cooperation to all like-minded persons and groups."*

The pledge made by Browder has been faithfully carried out by the Communist Party of the United States. The carrying out of the pledge was made possible because of a tenacious struggle, through "sweat and tears" for the realization of the policy of strengthening the coalition and for coalition warfare.

For policy to influence the course of events it cannot content itself merely to fight for general strategic aims. It must develop such tactics as will correspond with the specific political moment. (The tactical struggle must not be strained to a point where it "boomerangs" and jeopardizes the strategy. As Stalin teaches, tactics are subordinated to strategy and one should not confuse tactics with strategy.) It is, indeed, of great importance to appreciate the significance of Comrade Browder's two speeches (New

* *Victory—and After,* p. 113.

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York and Chicago) delivered on the eve of the Moscow Conference.

What was the specific political moment which characterized the state of affairs in the anti-Hitler coalition at the time of Comrade Browder's addresses. It may be stated in one word, "tension." It was a moment when Hitler and his political-minded groupings in the U.S. made a supreme effort to weaken the coalition, to cancel out the effects of the Red Army offensive and of our victories in Italy, in order to prevent and postpone coalition warfare. The tactical sharpness of Comrade Browder's speeches had the purpose of creating a high state of vigilance and to bring up the entire camp of national unity to a high state of mobilization, in order to overcome the "tension," to move forward for a further consolidation of the coalition of the United Nations. We can say that the tactical struggle outlined by Comrade Browder contributed to making public opinion alert and active for influencing the Moscow Conference, the prelude to the Teheran Conference.

The sharpness of Comrade Browder's pre-Moscow Conference declarations has had the desired historical effect. That was so, because they have been rooted in the fundamental strategic conception that the coalition is here to stay. For, not only did Browder reject the Pollyanna attitude of wishful thinking about the automatic growth of the coalition but also rejected the fallacious stand of liberal panic-mongering and chatter about the collapse of the coalition. In his September speech, Browder also sharpened the perspective for the consolidation of the coalition, as he declared in his reference to Roosevelt:

"It is my opinion that the President is fighting for a correct policy, and that he is fighting much better than most of his liberal critics who are so ready to cry out that he is betraying them. . . . We are in this war to the end with the present Commander-in-Chief. . . ."

* * *

In just wars, Lenin's teaching on foreign policy was that of coalition politics. We see that expressed in his references to the foreign policies of the young American Republic in alliance with France. Without coalition politics, decisive victory in our 1776 War for Independence would have been unthinkable.

The history of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union as initiated by Lenin, and carried through by Stalin, in the struggle for peace, in the struggle to smash the wars of intervention, in strengthening the independent power and role of the Soviet Union, is also the history of coalition politics.

And from the shameful days of the Munich betrayal to the triumph of Teheran, through trials and tribulation in terms of suffering humanity, there emerges the victory of the policies of collective security, of the Stalinist principle that peace is indivisible, of the Leninist postulate of coalition politics.

Fascism is the ugly fruition of the vilest and most pernicious features

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of imperialism. What greater curse could happen to mankind than the marriage of Prussianism with parasitic monopoly capitalism! It is against such a background, with Nazism's imperialist drive for world conquest, that we must appreciate that the historic direction and tendency of the present coalition of the United Nations is not only vaster in scope but is *qualitatively* even more progressive than the coalitions of the past in just wars.

In the very beginning of the formation of the coalition of the United Nations, Stalin made a sharp distinction between the political nature of Hitlerite Germany and that of England and the United States. He declared:

"The party of the Hitlerites is a party of imperialists, moreover, the most rapacious and plunderous imperialists among all imperialists of the world. . . . To cover up their reactionary, blackguard essence, the Hitlerites are branding the Anglo-American internal regime as a plutocratic regime. But in England and the United States there are elementary democratic liberties, there are trade unions of workers and employees, there are labor parties, there is a parliament, whereas the Hitler regime has abolished all these institutions in Germany. It is sufficient to compare these two series of facts to understand the reactionary essence of the Hitler regime and the full falseness of the chatter of the German fascists about the Anglo-American plutocratic regime."*

This statement of Stalin must be taken in conjunction with the fact that Hitler's main political strategy of Munichism, in alliance with the appeasement, defeatist circles in the Anglo-American countries, suffered a major defeat on the very first day of his treacherous war against the Soviet Union. From bitter experiences, with Vichyism as the horrible example of lingering Munichism, and in fear before a vigilant working class, and the stirrings of the Nazi-enslaved nations, the leading ruling circles in Britain and the U.S. have begun to understand that *Munichism, like crime, does not pay.* (This lesson did not come easy to them, as we witnessed in the two-year-long struggle for the principle of coalition warfare. Nor must we forget the danger that comes from Hoover, Landon forces, who, Bourbons that they are, will never forget and will never learn. And labor must in good time prepare for the decisive 1944 elections.)

What is, therefore, most essential to bear in mind is that with Hitler's attack upon the Soviet Union a qualitative change has taken place which, plus the epic-making Red Army victories, became the objective foundation for faith in the struggle for that coalition policy which contributed to the glory of the Moscow and Teheran parleys.

With prophetic vision Stalin, in the first days of the war, declared: "They [the Hitlerites] calculated primarily on the fact that they seriously hoped to create a universal coalition against the U.S.S.R., to draw Great Britain and the United States into this coalition and, pre-

* Joseph Stalin, *The War of National Liberation*, International Publishers, Vol I, p. 27.

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liminary to that, to frighten the ruling circles of these countries by the spector of revolution, and in this way completely isolate our country from the other powers.

"It turned out that the German policy of playing up contradictions and intimidating by the specter of revolution *has exhausted itself and no longer fits in the new situation;* and not only does not fit, but is moreover pregnant with great dangers for the German invaders, for in the *new conditions of war it leads exactly to the opposite result.*"* (My emphasis—S.D.)

Thus, instead of Hitler's hoped for world Munich front, the foundations have been laid for the anti-Hitler coalition of the United Nations.

Hitler's *military* blitzkrieg strategy has been predicated upon his Munich *political* blitzkrieg strategy. The fifth column is not merely a spy saboteur agency of the old type. It is, first of all, a *political* organization. In the political fifth column activities in the enemy's rear the German general staff saw a realistic basis for its blitzkrieg military strategy as well.

It is Germany's fascist imperialist drive for world conquest which shaped the military blitzkrieg strategy of the German General Staff. Make haste; daze the enemy; create a feeling of hopelessness, that all is lost and gone on the very first day of attack—such have been the tactics of the Nazis' military strategy. The primary aim of the Hitler military blitzkrieg strategy coordinated with fifth-column activity has been to destroy the enemy's *political will to resist,* and to *break up his state power.* Fascism's cannibal brutality has been an integral part of its fifth-column policies.

But in the Soviet Union Hitler's military strategy met more than its match. Hitlerism not only failed in face of the absence of an organized political fiifth column in the Soviet Union, and in face of the political resistance power of the Red Army, but the war immeasurably heightened the military striking power of the Red Army. Nor did the Hitlerite blitzkrieg even create a dent in Soviet Power. In fact, "coming up smack against it," the Soviet state was not only the first state to stand up successfully against the might of Germany's attack, but its state power, in the course of the war, has been magnificently strengthened and the political-moral unity of the Soviet people has reached epic heights.

The blows which the German army suffered in the first months of its attack on the Eastern Front, already then disturbed Hitlerism's main political strategy. For the Red Army's resistance weakened the political appeal of Hitler's fifth column in the leading democratic countries and gave a new lease of life to the national-liberation movements in Hitler's "European fortress."

It is the historic political adventurism of the German-fascist imperialist drive for world conquest which gave an adventurous imprint to its military blitzkrieg strategy.

* *Ibid.*, p. 22.

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Of course, neither the German imperialist monopoly cliques, nor its highly trained and skillful General Staff are completely devoid of a sense of reality. What then gave the German General Staff realistic hope that the world drive of their masters could be crowned with success? That hope was the avoidance at all costs of a two-front war. (This was the principal lesson German imperialism drew as the reason for its defeat in 1914-18.)

Since the formation of the coalition of the United Nations, there has been objectively a struggle between two main world political strategies. The Hitler strategy, that of preventing at all costs the political consolidation of the coalition of the United Nations, aimed at preventing the launching of a second front. The triumph of Teheran is the peoples' triumph of the second strategy—of the political consolidation of the anti-Hitler coalition, of coalition warfare.

Taken by themselves, certain elements of "military blitzkrieg strategy" are sound. But Hitler's military blitzkrieg strategy ruled out any elements of active defense from the strategy of the German General Staff, for the Hitlerite drive for world conquest could "not keep waiting." However, in the hands of the Red Army, in the coalition warfare strategy mapped at Teheran, the offensive elements of blitzkrieg strategy carry promise of success, for they are based on the historic reality of coalition warfare and the national liberation aims of the coalition of the United Nations.

Lenin, as we saw, stressed that war is a continuation of politics. As an integral part of this fundamental thought, Lenin also emphasized that "the character of the political aims of the war has a decisive influence on the conduct of the war." The Moscow-Teheran conferences have also substantiated this political scientific fact. Furthermore, in order to give full release to the energies of the coalition peoples, to the working class activities inspired by the Teheran Conference, not only for coalition warfare, but also for "an enduring peace," the door must be opened for evolving new theoretical concepts in keeping with the practical needs. To cling to old, pre-Teheran formulae will have a frustrating effect, and instead of influencing the course of history, there may be a dangerous lagging behind the stormy development of events.

The test of how well we understand Lenin's teachings lies in the ability to apply his principles under *new conditions*, and armed with the Marxist-Leninist dialectical method, discard old formulae, and establish new principles that correspond to a new *historic reality*.

As Lenin emphasized that Marxism is a guide to action, so was he a mortal enemy of phrase-mongering and doctrinaire intransigeance. Especially today, when new historic realities are in the process of formation, and as a result of coalition warfare when a new post-war world is looming on the horizon, it will become necessary for the shaping of correct policies, boldly to

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open up new theoretical vistas. And the guarantee that bold thinking will not become speculative and adventurous, that it is bold thinking that really corresponds to pulsating reality, lies in the testing of new principles by the unerring compass of the materialistic dialectic method.

Thus we see that Lenin, the very founder of the scientific theory of imperialism, in his polemics against those who would deny the possibility of just wars, admonished against parroting the conception of "imperialism":

"To forget the peculiarities of political and strategic interrelations and to repeat at every opportune occasion the stereotyped word 'Imperialism' is not Marxian at all."*

Concreteness is the soul of Leninist thinking. Lenin stressed the absolute need of applying the general principles of Marxism to the concrete, historic conditions of each country. He said that the "Theory of Marx must be further worked out *independently*, because this theory provides only the general *guiding* postulates, which apply in *particular* to England differently from the way they apply to France, differently to France from the way they apply to Germany, and differently to Germany from the way they apply to Russia."

* * *

The rise of imperialism, and particularly the menace of fascism, made it imperative for the working class to participate actively in the foreign affairs of its nation, to shape its own foreign policy. How else could the working class fight for peace, against imperialist war, and against fascism? The leading role of the labor movement and its patriotic responsibilities demanded that it actively and independently participate in helping to shape the foreign policies of the nation. And precisely because of that, imperialist fascist cliques feared most the contributions of the working class to foreign policy. Hitler's Munich victories were made possible because the working class did not always exert sufficiently its influence and power against Munichism and the foreign policies associated with Munich.

The foreign policy of every leading nation in the world for the past decade was tested and measured by its relationship to the Soviet Union. Could the American working class play its role in the national and foreign affairs of the nation if it did not make a cornerstone of the nation's foreign policy friendship for and appreciation of the Soviet Union's foreign policy? Precisely this has been a main reason for the defeatists' "foreign agent" slander leveled at the Communist Party.

The reactionary forces have always assiduously cultivated the myth that foreign policies, diplomacy belong to its chosen "experts." That myth has always played havoc with the working class. The working class can no more leave the field of foreign policies to "experts" than it could leave the solution of its economic problems in the hands

* Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XIX, p. 238.

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of the professional economists only. The very conduct of the war to speedy victory and the realization of a post-war orderly world and the securing of an enduring peace demand that labor, more than any other class in society, become expert in foreign policy.

What an affirmation of labor's independent role in the shaping of foreign policy and of its testimonial to the Moscow and Teheran Parleys would be the speeding of American labor's contribution to international trade union unity!

* * *

On two recent occasions (the Quebec Conference and the London Lord Mayor luncheon) Winston Churchill declared that no other government in the history of the world could have survived as the Soviet State did in the present war. We know that this is so because the Soviet Union is a socialist country; because the great October Socialist Revolution led by Lenin and Stalin, the two outstanding geniuses of the 20th century, opened up a new era in the history of mankind. The victories of the Red Army are the victories of the Socialist Soviet State.

And what is the source of strength of the Soviet State? What is the moving spirit of the Red Army which gave it Herculean strength? What made it possible for the Soviet Union, the newest and youngest type of state, to weather all storms and acquire giant strength? Because it is led by a party, the Communist Party, which is armed with the supreme science of all ages, the science of Marxism-Leninism.

The Communist Party of the United States was born in a setting different from that of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The history and the traditions of the two countries have a different pattern. But we can say that the same science, Marxism - Leninism, which nurtures the Red Army, is also available to us in the United States. And as we honor the memory of the greatest of all, the memory of V. I. Lenin, let us drink deeply of his wisdom and make the most of his teachings in order to contribute to the speedy victory of America and the United Nations and for an enduring peace to come.

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FOR UNITY IN CHINA'S WAR OF RESISTANCE

(Circular Telegram Issued by a Mass Meeting at Yenan on the Occasion of the Sixth Anniversary of the War of Resistance, Appealing for Unity and for Opposition to Civil War.)

TODAY victory is within sight. Our nation has remained united and maintained the war of resistance for wholly six years. The initiative of the world anti-fascist war has passed from the hands of the Axis to those of the Allies. Failure and destruction are befalling the fascist bandits of Germany, Italy and Japan. Yet, at this time, unexpectedly, within the fighting camp of China, there exist some crazy, senseless fifth columnists of the Japanese who openly echo the anti-Communist appeal of Hitler, Mussolini, Tojo, Wang Ching-wei and Wang Ke-min. These elements are demanding the dissolution of the Communist Party of China and the abolition of the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region. They surround and persuade their military commanders to transfer the troops from the anti-Japanese battlefields to attack the Border Region, hoping to change the anti-Japanese war into a civil war. Thus, we see within this month the incessant transportation of troops from the river-defending positions toward the Border Region. This is in addition to the ten-odd divisions that have been originally stationed around the Border Region for blockade purposes. Reliable information reveals that the 78th and the 167th Divisions, the main force of the 1st Army, have been shifted from Hua-yin and Wei-nan to Pin-hsien and Chunhua; the 28th and the 53rd Divisions of the 90th Army from Hancheng and Ho-yang to Lo-chuan; the 8th Division of the 57th Army from Sian to Chung-pu, the heavy-artillery battalion of the 16th Army from the river-defending positions to Yao-hsien; and the artillery brigade originally stationed in Sian to Chunhua. Besides the above, there are still more troops waiting for orders to move. The busy military transportation along the Lung-Hai Railway, the Sienyang-Yulin highway, and the Sian-Lanchow highway has greatly alarmed the inhabitants along those lines.

To coordinate with the military actions, the notorious Trotskyite and traitor Chang Ti-fei, chief of the anti-Communist special agents in Sian and a director for training of a concentration camp there, proceeded to assemble a meeting of his followers and in the name of "pub-

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lic opinion" barked for the dissolution of the Communist Party and the abolition of the Border Region. Strangest of all, even the official Central News Agency broadcast these reactionary unity-splitting remarks on July 6, as a step to prepare their counterfeit "public opinion" for starting a civil war, the crisis of which is really within a hair's breadth. Should this senseless attempt of the enemy's fifth columnists and of the anti-Communist elements of China be realized, it will not only nullify all past achievements of the War of Resistance that we have painstakingly maintained for six years, but it will also seriously harm the collaborative actions of the anti-fascist Allies as a whole. The sole aim of these fifth columnists in trying to create civil war is to help the Japanese destroy China; hence, their action is not only against the interests of China's war of liberation, but also against the common interests of the Allies in the struggle against fascism. The civil war agitators are merely the supporters of moribund fascism, the pro-Japanese elements and the traitors within our anti-Japanese camp, because no other result than the sacrifice of our national interests can be expected if a civil war is staged at this critical moment of the nation.

* * *

The Communist Party of China for six years has proved to be the most faithful defenders of China. The Communists are the creators and upholders of the united front policy. They achieved the peaceful settlement of the Sian incident and organized the national unity under the Generalissimo to carry out the war of liberation. The Communist Party members in the Eighth Route Army, in the New Fourth Army, and among the people of different localities were directed to unite closely with all the troops and civilians in the war theaters behind the enemy's front in order to inflict blows upon half of the enemy forces in China. They did this without any replenishment of ammunition and funds from the Government. The New Fourth Army is now being called the "rebels"; but all Chinese citizens as well as the Japanese and the traitors know that these "rebels" are at this moment bravely resisting the enemy in the battlefields behind the enemy's front in Central China and are still giving their full support to the Government without a sign of rebellion. The Eighth Route Army has been maintaining the resistance in North China through all hardships; to them, however, no encouragements or commendations have ever been given, but instead denunciations and hindrances.

The Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region is the only rear of the Eighth Route and the New Fourth Armies. There the small rear-guard establishments of the two armies work with their own hands for self-supply, illustrating a model troop that the world has never seen. There the party, government and mass organizations truly realize the Three People's Principles and carry on the famous "Triple Policy" that unites firmly the various strata of

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the anti-Japanese people. There the people are given the human, political and financial rights, the opportunity to speak, clothes to put on, rice to eat, work to do, and books to read, in short, each person is given a proper place under the sun. There the people fully enjoy the life of democracy, of liberty, and of sufficient food and clothing, a condition quite contrary to the miseries of the "great rear."

It is this Border Region, the model district of the practice of the Three People's Principles, that the National Government has not yet kept its promise to recognize, although the people in the Border Region are forever loyal to the Government. We, the people of the Border Region, swear to give our full support to the Chinese Communist Party, which has been so faithful to the work of national liberation, so persistent in carrying on the united front and the resistance, and has done so many good deeds for us. Likewise, we swear to defend with our lives this piece of land on which have been established nationally applauded democratic and progressive measures. These represent not only our own benefit, but also the reliable force for the maintenance of the war of resistance and for defense from the destruction of the intrigues of the Japanese and their fifth columnists.

Despite numerous abnormal misdeeds in our national politics, we have long kept silent, hoping that our tolerance might lead to the overcoming of our national difficulty. Unfortunately, encouraged by this toleration on our part, the oppression of the anti-Communist elements has become more intensified, and cruel outrages and malicious policies have been on the increase. Now these anti-Communist elements even defy the criticism of the world to remove the anti-Japanese troops for civil war intrigues, to place the anti-Communist policy above the anti-Japanese policy, to advocate oligarchy and one-party dictatorship, to oppose liberalism and communism exactly as the fascists are doing, and to forsake the principles of unity and united front, which means to condemn our nation to death. If today, they can direct their special agents to counterfeit public opinion to propose the dissolution of the Chinese Communist Party and the abolition of the Border Region, why can they not tomorrow denounce and disband the Eighth Route Army? Their abnormal actions only expose the minds of the counter-revolutionaries, who always fear that the anti-Japanese war will bring about victory, that the Chinese nation will be liberated, and that the Chinese people will gain their freedom.

* * *

On the other hand, not a word of denunciation was directed at the thirty-three high-ranking Kuomintang military officers who sold their country and surrendered to the enemy. These elements sometimes even act as advocates for them. For such a notorious traitor as Wu Kai-hsien, who was sent to the war capital by the enemy to carry on his traitorous intrigue, no order of

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arrest is issued. Instead, Wu is allowed to remain at large, performing his task freely, still under the name of a central executive of the Kuomintang. Regarding the activities of such a fifth columnist of the Japanese as Chang Ti-fei, who counterfeited public opinion in Sian to demand the dissolution of the Chinese Communist Party and the abolition of the Border Region, no restriction of whatever nature is made. Instead, his message was broadcast by the official Central News Agency for the purpose of deceiving the people and preparing public opinion for the military invasions. In regard to the miserable livelihood of the people in the rear, their discontent and complaints, the discord between the people and the government, the numerous revolts of the masses in various localities, and all other critical conditions, not a word of regret is heard from the Government. Instead, there is high-handed oppression. The reason for the annihilation of the armies of Pang Ping-shun and Sun Tian-ying by the Japanese in North China is none other than that Pang and Sun had been secretly ordered by the Military Committee of the National Government and the Commander of the 1st War Zone in Loyang to exert their utmost to prepare for an offensive upon the Eighth Route Army in the Taihang-shan (of this intrigue the Eighth Route Army has some documents as proofs). Hence they did not take any precautionary measures against the enemy, who, taking advantage of their unpreparedness, annihilated their armies and captured their commanders. These anti-Communist generals, Pang and Sun, have surrendered to the Japanese. But their misdeed was kept a secret; some people even act as advocates for them.

The Government dispatched two group armies, under the command of Wang Chung-lian and Lee Hsien-chow respectively, to try to annihilate the Eighth Route and the New Fourth Armies in North China and Shantung, which are carrying on bitter struggles against the enemy. They called the Communist Party "traitorous party" and the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies "traitorous armies." Is there anything in the world more illogical and nonsensical than this? Is today not the day when the Japanese, German and Italian fascists are facing the crisis of their downfall and we are required to intensify our resistance for the liberation of our people and for coordination with the anti-fascist Allies? Why is it that a great number of troops were withdrawn from the anti-Japanese front for the attack on the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region? Why do we Chinese fight against our own countrymen and not the Japanese imperialists? Is it not yet clear that during the war of resistance all our forces should be united to strengthen the anti-Japanese front, and a second front against our own people within our country should never be created under whatever condition? Is it not yet clear that once the civil war breaks out, it will be protracted, both of us will be ruined, and only the Japanese will reap the harvest?

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And why do you hate the Communists, the Eighth Route Army, the New Fourth Army and the Border Region so intensely, and not our common enemy, the Japanese imperialists? Are you forgetting the existence of the Japanese, when you remove your troops from the river-defending positions for an attack upon the Border Region? What if the Japanese stab your anti-Communist crusaders in the back? Have you entirely forgotten the lesson of Generals Pang and Sun?

Attending a mass meeting here in Yenan celebrating the sixth anniversary of our War of Resistance, we, the people of the various circles in Yenan, earnestly appeal to the National Government, to Generalissimo Chiang, General Hu Chung-nan, the officers and soldiers who prepared to attack the Border Region, and the compatriots of our country to see clearly that the the intrigue of the fifth columnists of the Japanese cannot produce any benefit to our nation, but only helps the aggression of the enemy. We demand that Generalissimo Chiang and General Hu shall immediately order their anti-Japanese troops to return to the original defending positions, maintain the national unity and avoid the outbreak of the civil war. We earnestly advise those officers and soldiers who have been secretly ordered to carry on the civil war to note the disaster to our nation, to learn the lesson of the civil war of the past ten years. They must not attack the Communists, the Eighth Route Army or the New Fourth Army. They must point the muzzles of their guns toward the external enemy, not toward their own countrymen. What General Hu Chung-nan once said—"the anti-Communist campaign is a life sentence"—is quite true. Try to think deeply and calmly. What result can we bring if we are going to carry on the civil war for another ten years? In fact, we shall not have those ten years to fight against each other, because as soon as the civil war breaks out, our enemy will mach in, and our country will be ruined.

We demand of Generalissimo Chiang and General Hu to arrest immediately the notorious Chang Tifei, Trotskyite traitor, and fifth columnist of the Japanese, and punish his counter-revolutionary actions of splitting the national unity and destroying the resistance. We demand that the National Government arrest Wu Kai-hsien, the secret missionary of the Japanese, and put him to public trial, and publicly order the punishment of the thirty-three high-ranked traitorous Kuomintang generals, namely, Pang Ping-hsien, Sun Tian-ying, Sun Liang-chang, Pi Tai-yu, Wu Hua-wen, Yung Tze-hen, Li Wen-li, Yang Yung-hsien, Lee Cheng-fen, Hou Kuan-wen, Wang Tin-yin, Yang Kuan-yu, Wang Jui-tin, Chao Hsing-tsai, Tue Hang-hui, Hou Ju-yung, Yang Chi-hsi, Chao Sui, Yang Cheng, Lee Chang-kiang, Hsu Chi-tai, Yang Chung-hua, Wu Su-chuan, Wang Ching-tsi, Su Cheng-tung, Pan Sheng-fu, Su Cheng-hua, Chang Hai-ping, Jen Lan-pu, Chao Tian-hsuan, Hsueh Yu-ping, Yu Huai-an, and King Yi-wu, and transfer the anti-Communist troops

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in Central China and Shantung for their punishment. We appeal for help from our countrymen, and all the anti-Japanese parties and groups to stop the civil war, and to realize the following demands. Our slogans are:

1. Persist in the War of Resistance and oppose the civil war.

2. Persist in the unity against splitting.

3. Persist in the anti-Japanese national united front.

4. Oppose the removal of troops from the river-defending positions for attack upon the Border Region.

5. Demand that the Government withdraw the troops that are encircling the Border Region and dispatch them to the anti-Japanese front.

July 9th, 1943

6. Demand that the Government punish the special service organizations that stir up the civil war.

7. Demand that the Government chastise the thirty-three capitulating generals.

8. Demand that the Government put the spy Wu Kai-hsien to trial.

9. Support the Chinese Communist Party.

10. Defend the anti-Japanese and democratic Border Region with our lives.

11. Firmly realize the Three People's Principles.

12. Mobilize all the people to defend the Border Region, to defend North China and the whole of China.

13. Down with Japanese imperialism and its hunting dogs the fifth columnists.

14. *Long live the liberation of the Chinese people!*

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CRITIQUE OF CHIANG KAI-SHEK'S BOOK: "CHINA'S DESTINY"

By CHEN PAI-TA

INTRODUCTION

HEREWITH *The Communist* publishes documents received from Yennan, China, capital of the Northwest Semi-autonomous Border Region of the Chinese Republic. They were originally published in July and August, reaching us only in December due to the war-time difficulties of communication.

Here for the first time is disclosed the full depth of the political crisis which threatened China last summer, of which at the time we had only the ominous surface indications.

That crisis has not been resolved, it has only been protracted and delayed in its culmination.

The existence of a major crisis in China, our ally and one of the "Big Four" of the United Nations, is a matter of profound concern to all Americans.

All detailed information of these internal developments in China has hitherto been withheld from the American public by a screen of war-censorship. We believe that such a policy of concealment is a mistaken and dangerous policy, that it serves to intensify the crisis in China and not to alleviate it, and that it prevents American public opinion from exerting its proper influence in the matter of our own nation's role in relation thereto. Americans cannot be left in ignorance of a situation which threatens a fatal weakening of a vital sector of the Allied front against Japan in the Far East.

We will reserve our detailed comments on these documents for a later issue. The documents tell their own story, the background of which is all too familiar to American students of Chinese affairs since 1926. They demand the most careful study and consideration.

EARL BROWDER.

SINCE the publication of *China's Destiny* in the name of Chiang Kai-shek, Director-General of the Kuomintang, many people in Chungking have suspected that the book was really written by Tao Hsi-sheng. Many people wonder why Mr. Chiang, as the leader of the Kuomintang, should have allowed his work to be written by a person

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so widely infamous for his association with the Nanking traitors, his constant advocacy of fascism, his opposition to the United Nations, and his continuing ideological links with Wang Ching-wei. They wonder if the Kuomintang is really so lacking in learned men that it could find no one else for this work.

Only a few days after the publication of *China's Destiny*, Tao Hsi-sheng wrote an article singing its praises. This was published by the *Central Weekly* as a front-page leading article. This again appeared astonishing to many people. Why should the *Central Weekly* esteem Tao's article so highly? Was it impossible to promote Mr. Chiang's book without Tao's commendation?

Since *China's Destiny* was published over the name of Mr. Chiang, his prestige attracted the attention of the people to the book. People thought at first that since Mr. Chiang had published such a book at so critical a moment of the war of resistance, it would contribute greatly toward the solution of such questions as how to prepare the counter-offensive against the enemy, or how to coordinate the operations of the Allies to win final victory, because, as everybody knows, the factor that determines China's destiny today is the war of resistance and nothing else. But after reading *China's Destiny* they were greatly disappointed, because the questions brought out in the book were entirely unexpected ones. Out of the 213 pages of the book, only twelve and a half deal with the war problem, while the bulk of the book deals with internal problems—opposition to liberalism and communism and advocacy of compradore-feudalist fascism or the New Absolutism (formally still wearing the mask of the Three People's Principles).

We Marxists usually despise those who try to conceal their political opinions, but Mr. Chiang does not conceal his opinions in this book. We welcome his frankness. However, we cannot agree with what Mr. Chiang says, and we deem it our duty to make public our opinions for the consideration and examination of our compatriots. Once Mr. Chiang himself said: "Any one who sees mistakes in the actions and attitudes of the Kuomintang should correct and mend them." It is therefore necessary that we bring forth our views and discuss this work with its author and readers. Since Mr. Chiang's book concerns China's destiny and questions of life or death, existence or destruction, for the 450,000,000 people of China, every patriotic citizen of China, which includes all Communists, should give it his full attention.

At present, the Kuomintang is plotting to dissolve the Communist Party and to abolish the Border Region. The official Central News Agency actually broadcast such news on July 6, 1943. It may be said now that we are approaching a period characterized by a welter of peculiar opinions. We Communists cannot remain indifferent to these opinions, especially when they really play a part in events, as can be seen by reading *China's Destiny*. The criticisms here are limited to a few fundamental propositions of the book. The criticism of other aspects

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and a more thorough review of separate questions, I shall leave to other comrades.

We hope that the author, the readers or any patriotic Chinese citizens who view these questions differently will also express themselves. Truth does not fear controversy and that which fears controversy is not truth. Countless Kuomintang publications have severely critized Comrade Mao Tze-tung's *New Democracy*, while we have not yet given them any reply. So now, with Mr. Chiang's book as a starting point, let us publish some of our opinions.

I. On the Chinese Nation

What Mr. Chiang says in his book regarding the question of the Chinese nation does not agree with the original facts of history. For example, the book says: "Our Chinese nation was formed through the amalgamation of many tribes of the same descent" and is composed of "big and small branches of the same blood." As we know, the theory of national blood relationship is in its origin a shallow idea of the German, Italian and Japanese fascists who have utilized it as an instrument to further their aggressions against the world. It is really surprising to us that Mr. Chiang should base his ideas on such a theory, which can never serve to explain the history of the formation of the Chinese nation. The term "Chinese nation" commonly used by us means in fact the various nationalities in China, which beyond argument is inhabited by more than one nation. The anti-Manchu movement carried on by the revolutionaries of the Tung Meng Hui headed by Dr. Sun Yat-sen at the end of the Ching dynasty was launched under the banner of nationalism. In the declaration of the First Congress of the Kuomintang, personally edited by Dr. Sun, the phrase "the various nations within China's territory" was clearly set down. To deny this is to deny Dr. Sun and his principles.

The author of the book has always styled himself a true disciple of Dr. Sun; but now, having a theory of his own, he insists that there is only one nation in China! What a shocking theory! If it is correct, there was no reason for Dr. Sun to call the 1911 Revolution a national revolution. If Mr. Chiang is right, the words written in the solemn declaration of the First Congress of the Kuomintang—that "The right of self-determination of the various nations within China is recognized, and a free, united China, by the free association of the nations, will be organized after the victory of the anti-imperialist and anti-warlord revolution"—have no meaning. Is it not clear that Mr. Chiang's theory is contrary to that of Dr. Sun?

Let us examine the question more closely. Are the Chinese nation and the Mongolian nation really "big and small branches of the same blood"? Is this also true of the Chinese and the Tibetans? Of the Mohammedans who came from the west? Of the Miaos, the Yaos, the Lolos, the Yis? Where are the proofs for such statements?

The author has quoted a sentence from the Book of Odes, which reads: "The offspring of the Wen Emperor

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branched out to a hundred generations." But can we say that all the nations now in China were generated from the Wen Emperor? It requires only common sense, not profound knowledge, to prove that this is not so, and the author, lacking this common sense, has filled his book with errors.

Another effort to prove the point of the book was the theory of the influence of "intermarriage." But let us remind ourselves that the marriage of an Emperor's concubine, Wang Chao Chun, in the Han dynasty to a Hun king (and we should not forget that this was a historical tragedy for a Chinese ruler who presented his beautiful concubine to a Hun ruler in order to seek a shameful peace) did not transform the Huns into a branch of the Chinese, nor did the marriage of a princess, Wen Cheng, in the Tang dynasty to a Tibetan ruler produce the same effect. If it did, the Chinese nation would have become a branch of the Japanese nation, because many Chinese, including many prominent Kuomintang leaders, have taken Japanese women to be their wives.

If the nations within China are to be characterized in this way, all Chinese history would become a heap of incomprehensible and insoluble riddles. Thus, war between the Chinese and the Huns in the Han dynasty could not be considered as a national war, but a civil war within the same nation (or should we say a conflict between the big and small clans?). The same would be true of the aggressions of the five barbarian tribes against China, the war between the Chinese and foreign nations in the period of the Northern and Southern Dynasties, and the war between the Chinese, the Ouigurs, the Tibetans, and the Sha To (Tadjik) tribes in the Tang Dynasty. For the same reason, the struggles of the Chinese against the Khitans during the Five Short Dynasties, or those against the Khitans, Nurchen (Manchurians), Tartars and the Mongols during the Sung dynasty, or those against the Mongols and Manchus in the Ming Dynasty, and even the struggle of the Tai-ping Revolution and the Tung Mong Hui against the Manchus could not be considered national struggles, but internal struggles within a single nation. If such were the case, it would inevitably follow that such historical figures as Yueh Fei, Wen Tien-hsiang, Lu Hsiu-fu, Chu Yuan-chang, Hsu Ta, Yuan Chung-huan, Shih Ko-fa, Cheng Cheng-kung, Li Ting-kuo, Hung Hsiu-chuan, Li Heiu-chang, the seventy-two heroes of the Yellow Flower Hill and Dr. Sun Yat-sen, who added luster to their nation and country and wrote pages in our history which have won many songs of praise as well as tears from the people, were a group of fools who sacrificed their lives for nothing significant. And the hateful and unpardonable traitors of Chinese history, such as Hsih Chin-tang, Chang Pang-chang, Liu Yu, Chin Kuei, Hung Cheng-chou, Tzeng Kuo-fan and Chang Hsun could then be "honored in the temple halls" or "worshiped with bowls and censers for a thousand autumns." The whole of Chinese

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history would have to be rewritten and our nation would have no historical background to distinguish it if the author's interpretations were accepted.

Mr. Chiang says: "As to how the common destiny of the various clans were realized in history, we must give credit to the original moral qualities of our nation, which maintained the inward affection of the various clans and influenced the morality they already possessed." Let us examine this question for a while. The facts listed in the foregoing paragraph reveal that in history the struggles of the Chinese nation against the outside aggressors had been extremely cruel and merciless. How can Mr. Chiang account for such facts if what he said here is true? Doubtless, there existed a fundamental difference between two kinds of people during the struggles of the Chinese nation against the invasions of foreign aggressors. The first kind were the broad Chinese masses who shed their blood and sacrificed their lives to resist aggression and were the fundamental motive power in the defense of their mother country and the recovery of what had been lost. The second kind were the corrupt rulers, who, in facing aggression, adopted the attitude of "preferring to give things to foreign nations rather than let them fall into the hands of their own slaves," or sacrificed even the honor of the Son of Heaven "to swallow the humiliation of calling themselves servants, sons, nephews or grandsons of the invaders; or offered gold and silks as tribute to the enemy; or tried to please the enemy by executing the patriotic generals who insisted on resistance (refer to the history of the Five Short Dynasties and of the Ming Dynasty). It was these emperors and premiers who ruled their people by such magic spells as "loyalty, filial duty, benevolence, love, faith, righteousness, harmony and peace" or "filial duty, fraternity, loyalty, faith, propriety, righteousness, purity and modesty." Perhaps the way they kowtowed to the invaders was their practice of the above virtues, but what is there in their virtues that is worthy of our pride?

Speaking scientifically, a nation is characterized by its common language, common territory, common economic life and common psychological expressions of its life revealed by its common culture. National struggles are merely the historical results of the differentiation of societies into classes. They did not exist at the time of the emergence of human beings, nor will they continue to exist forever in the future. The war we are now waging, as described by Comrade Mao Tze-tung, is "to fight for the permanent peace of mankind." Not only that, but even before the realization of a permanent harmony in mankind, nations originally antagonistic to one another may be assimilated into one nation due to concrete historical conditions, as was the case with certain nations which settled down in the inland of China and were assimilated by the Chinese. The Manchus in fact have been assimilated by the Chinese today; yet this is certainly not due

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to the so-called "original virtues" of the Chinese, but to the fact that the Manchus, dispersing themselves through the country, came among a people far more advanced than they were and far superior to them economically, culturally, and politically, to say nothing of the overwhelming numerical superiority of the Chinese. Thus, after long, cruel struggles, they were assimilated by the Chinese.

Today's world is a world of science. The history of the nations in the world should therefore be approached scientifically. The trick of distorting, altering and fabricating the history of nations, as practised by fascists, cannot be our example. To teach the people in such a way is to fool the people. The big landlords and big capitalists of China have resorted to fabricating such a chauvinistic theory in order to propagate the Tai Han Chu Chuyi (Pan-Sinoism) and to oppress the weak minorities within China. Since we Chinese are a weak people ourselves, we should unite with the minorities within our country, democratically and on an equal footing, so that we may resist the invaders together. If we resist the invaders on the one hand, and oppress the national minorities on the other, we are leaving a loophole for the enemy, to the disadvantage of our work of national liberation. Every clear-minded Chinese citizen should understand this.

The big landlords and the big capitalists in China, and everyone else, consider the nation their own property. "I am the nation and the nation is I" is what they always think. But let us see, what constitutes a nation? Does not the overwhelming majority of our nation consist of workers and peasants? Without our 90 per cent or more of laboring people, whence would come our clothing, foodstuffs and dwelling places? Where would we get our troops for the war of resistance? And whence comes our culture? Is it not clear that the peasants and the workers are the main body of our nation, that their benefits are entirely identical with the benefits of the whole nation, and that it is only they who are qualified to represent the nation? And is it not theft for others, especially for those who oppress the workers and the peasants, to call themselves the representatives of the nation? Since the laboring people are the main body of the nation, is it not evident that the slogan "The nation is supreme," "The country is supreme" can mean only that the laboring people are supreme? And is it not clear that to consider the laboring people as the lowest, means to consider the nation and the country as the lowest?

Who constitutes the main body of the nation? Only a correct answer to this question can enable us to explain the question of the nation, its force, its constitution, or the reason that the Chinese nation could revive from the decadence and destruction of the past, or the way to prepare the counter-offensive and win the final victory in the war (*i.e.*, the question of mobilizing or not mobilizing the masses, practising or not practising democracy), or the question who should be the

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master in post-war China. Comrade Mao Tze-tung's *New Democracy* and many other documents of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China answered this question several years ago, but the author of *China's Destiny* now considers "a minority of the people" and the "virtues" to be the decisive factors of the nation. This is where our opinion and that of the big landlords and the big capitalists diverge regarding the question of China's destiny.

II. On Chinese History

Now let us turn to the question of Chinese history, particularly modern Chinese history. The history of China is in fact a history of the Chinese people; for without the Chinese people we have no Chinese nation. In the past struggles of the Chinese nation against natural forces, backward systems and foreign invasions, the main force resided in the laboring masses. They are the chief motive power of our history. They have created all the achievements of past and present, but have enjoyed none of them. They have struggled amid the greatest hardship and bitterness; but the fruits of their struggles have been stolen by the ruling few, while they themselves were left with hardship and bitterness as usual. Each time when the laboring people of China were most cruelly exploited and oppressed by the rulers, to the extent that they could not freely breathe, foreign invasions inevitably followed. Then the same laboring people would again rise and become the force that recovered what was lost.

Mr. Chiang says: "After the Manchus entered the gates of the Great Wall, the national consciousness of the Chinese people gradually disappeared." This is untrue. The fact is that after the Manchus came to rule China, those who lost their national consciousness were limited only to a few rulers and the upper circle of scholars and officials, while the broad masses of the Chinese people were forever rich in national thought, and continuously carried on their national struggles. The closer history moved toward modern times, the greater was the conscious strength of the people. The national thought of the Chinese people, after the Manchus came to China, became broader, more penetrating and more lasting than in any previous period of subjugation. The far-stretching organization of the Hung Society and its ability to survive for a long period without being eradicated is the best illustration of this fact. Dr. Sun, who recognized this, said: "While the scholars and officials were indulging themselves in titles, incomes, and ranks, the so-called low-born society organized themselves into the Hung Society, preserving in it the thought of opposing the Ching Dynasty and restoring the Ming Dynasty.

This was one phase of the development. The other phase was the development of slave ideology, which found its most prominent representative in Tseng Kuo-fan (or Tseng Wen-cheng), whom the author of *China's Destiny* continually praises. (Let us not forget that the name Wen-cheng was a posthumous

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title bestowed after Tseng's death for his services of eradicating the Tai-ping Revolution against the Manchus.) And see what the author writes about the Manchu Dynasty! He says: "In the Ching Dynasty, the scale of national reconstruction was so magnificent and far-sighted, and the political structures and codes were so well and precisely planned, that it could actually compare with the traditions of the Han and the Tang dynasties, and surpassed those of the Sung and Ming dynasties, not to say the Yuan. . . . If only the Manchus could have done away with the boundaries that separated the Chinese, Manchus, Mongols, Mohammedans and the Tibetans, treated them all alike on an equal basis, and recognize that our five branches are in fact one unified body. . . . But they were limited by the time and thought. We cannot expect that the Manchus should have put such policies into practice, and we should not find fault too caustically. . . ." Not a trace of national consciousness is to be found in what Mr. Chiang says here.

In the middle of the Ching Dynasty the Chinese nation met invaders of a new kind, different from those of the past. They were the capitalist and imperialist countries which with their superior economic forces broke through the "Great Wall of China." The weakness in China's power to resist was due, on the one hand, to the "prison of nations" created by the Manchus and, on the other, to the "prison of absolutism" in which they kept the people. The author of *China's Destiny*, on the contrary, says: "The decline of our national standing and the subsidence of the people's spirit in the past hundred years were generally caused by the unequal treaties." An interpretation of this kind is to turn everything upside down—to take the effect for the cause. Why was the Chinese nation fettered by the unequal treaties? Was it not the result of the dark political despotism of the Manchurians which suppressed the Chinese people and prevented them from rising against the invaders? If what the author says is true, then China must have been a prosperous and strong country, and the Chinese people all high spirited before the existence of the unequal treaties. But if China was such a country, how then could so many unequal treaties be imposed on her?

However, the author admits at the same time that "As regards the cause of national humiliations, we must trace them to the corruption of the Manchus, to the deterioration of the politics, and especially to the decline of learning and society." Here the author has pointed out the "cause" at last! But if this be really the "cause," what of the other theory we have quoted above? Are not the two ideas of the author mutually contradictory? What logic!

Now let us turn to another point. First, the author says that there was "a deterioration in politics" (the author is not willing to mention absolutism; later we shall have something further to say regarding this point). This remark is contradictory to his statement elsewhere which praises the Ching Dynasty in the following terms: "The scale

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of national reconstruction was so magnificent and far-sighted and the political structures and codes were so well and precisely planned."

Secondly, according to the author, national humiliations were caused "especially by the decline of learning and society." But did not the author also say: "Between the reign of the Emperor Tao Kuang and Hsien Feng, such people as Tzeng Kuo-fan, Hu Lin-yi, Tso Tsung-teng, and Li Hung-chang all considered it their responsibility to change the social customs?" Tseng Kuo-fan advocated firmness in the execution of law, and valued manliness and character in employing personnel. In the cultural sphere, he absorbed the thoughts of the Han and the Sung dynasties, with faith as the basis. In conducting himself and his affairs, he followed the spirit of "being careful when alone, emphasizing respect, seeking for benevolence and practising labor." So the success of the Hunan troops and the Anwhei Militia was not something accidental.

If so, it seems that we should have had fewer national humiliations; yet our national humiliations were as plentiful as blackberries. The teaching of history is evidently contrary to what the author has said here. The reason that China was overwhelmed by national humiliations was precisely "the success of the Hunan troops and the Anwhei Militia" under Tseng Kuo-fan and Li Hung-chang. A reading of history will at once tell us so. The Tai-ping Movement had ruled many provinces for more than ten years and had come into contact with foreigners, but it had never concluded any unequal treaty with them. Precisely because of this, it aroused the indignation of imperialists, who organized Gordon's "Ever Victorious Army" to attack from the outside. This army collaborated with the Manchu troops and defeated the revolution. If the Tai-ping Revolution had been successful in crushing "such people as Tseng, Hu, Tso and Li," overthrowing the Ching Dynasty, establishing the new regime, arousing the people's spirit, and organizing the national defense, the imperialists would never have been able to bestow so many national humiliations upon us. This is why we say the success of the Hunan and Anwhei troops was the failure of the people and the victory of imperialism. National humiliations naturally piled up when the people had failed and the imperialists were victorious.

Two sayings of Dr. Sun should be recommended here: First, "The former weakness and decline of China was due to the harsh oppressions of absolutism." Second, "Thirty years ago, our revolutionary comrades resolutely decided that it was impossible to make China strong and prosperous save by promoting the principle of democracy." Dr. Sun's words are concise and right to the point. Is it not lamentable that his bequeathed teachings should be discarded by his disciples?

To save China, the people's rights must be developed, and old China must be reformed. This is an iron law. Why do we have to reform the old China? Is it not because the the regime in old China was too

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dark, too cruel, too backward and too hypocritical? Is it not because the economic system of China mercilessly squeezes the broad masses, drinks, first of all, the blood and sweat of the peasants, makes them suffer hunger and cold, and renders the development of national economy impossible? Is it not because the methods of government of old China, from the Pao Chia system to the Central power, stifled the life and the political activities of the people? Is it not because the cultural and educational systems and policies of old China were systems and policies for deceiving the people? How can we stand on our own feet and resist aggression if the old China is not reformed? How can we achieve our final victory if we do not seek for progress, but go backward always, in the anti-Japanese war today? Unfortunately, the author of *China's Destiny* describes this old China as a "golden world;" to him the economic system of old China before she opened her doors to the West, her politics, her social customs and her ethics were ideal—in short, the best in the world. What we want to know is that if everything was so perfect, why did China not resist the imperialists but instead had to surrender and sign so many unequal treaties?

This is only one of the self-contradictions in the book.

To let the reader see how the author has described the "golden world" of old China, I shall quote from the book. One glance alone will show how exquisite the writing is.

Regarding "economy":

"The foundation of our country lay originally in agriculture. The distribution of agriculture in the whole country was even and balanced, except in some border provinces and districts, so that the density of the population in the country did not vary much. The government paid equal and universal attention to all parts in planning communications, and this tradition was carried down for generations and generations. Though economic development began from the rivers, and later spread to sea coasts, the progress of national construction did not show any sign of partiality and unevenness." (p. 59, Chinese edition)

Regarding the "social organization":

"The original social organization of China, is according to blood relationship, proceeded from the individual, to the family, and then to the clan. According to regions, it proceeded from the family, to the Pao Chia, and then to the village, etc. The two systems were quite distinct, and the education and training in both systems was the object of endeavor by the ancient virtuous men and philosophers. There were mottoes and rules of self-restraint for the individual to observe in his daily life; the family propriety and family instructions for the families; and pedigrees and clan rules for the clans. This was also true of the Pao Chia, the villages and rural communities, all of which had their own rules and regulations to observe. This spirit of self-government brought about the actual effect of modeling individuals and the families, without waiting for the interference of the law, and the morality of mutual assist-

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ance led to the public benefit, without requiring the supervision of the government. There were also village schools for educational purposes, and public fields and public lodging houses for relief purposes. For storing grain against famine, we had public barns. For prevention and capture of robbers and outlaws, we had the binding mutual-guarantees of the Pao Chia system. Even the repair and construction of dams and roads, and the deepening of rivers and ditches were all done by village social labor. This is what Mencius described as 'mutual friendship when going out and coming in, mutual assistance when guarding and watching the village, and mutual support when in trouble.' This is the 'strict observance of the instructions of schools and colleges to teaching the meaning of filial duty and fraternity,' or what the book Li Yun described, thus: 'The elders can pass the remainder of their lives fittingly; adults can be used fittingly; the young can be brought up fittingly; and the old bachelors, widows, orphans, elders without sons, and the maimed can be taken care of fittingly.' The above ideals were always active in the old society of China." (pp. 61-62.)

Regarding "social customs":

"For the past five thousand years, the ancient sages and the virtuous men of China have devoted their lives tirelessly to promoting social customs . . . so we are still able to maintain in our social customs the elements of faith, honesty, hard work, plain life, esteem of propriety and righteousness, and comprehension of purity and modesty. This is the fundamental reason why the Chinese nation could survive in the world for a long time." (pp. 62-63)

Regarding "ethics":

"Ancient Chinese philosophy and ethics revealed deeply and in detail how the relationships of mankind and society were maintained. Though social organization is constantly evolving, the following are the unchangeable universal rules of social life, *i.e.*, the way of fathers and sons, husbands and wives, brothers and friends, and the order of the upper and the lower, superiors and inferiors, men and women, elders and juveniles, as well as the principles of mutual assistance among neighbors and in adversity." (p. 67)

"The original philosophy of life of China, created by Confucius, developed by Mencius, and explained by the Confucian school of the Han Dynasty, formed a lofty system of its own, and is superior to any other philosophy in the world. Despite this, however, the Chinese nation still humbly accepted foreign religions, absorbed their deep philosophical ideas and let them be mutually developed with the original philosophy of life of China." (p. 69)

How gorgeous! We have stepped into a paradise here! But if the feudal agricultural economy of China was so ideal for us, why do the Japanese fascist robbers propose "an agricultural China and an industrial Japan"? And why should our enemies be so anxious to preserve the feudal agricultural economy of China? Since the Pao Chia system of old China was so ideal and so beneficial to our people, why should the Japanese imperialist robbers impose such a system on the occupied territories? Since the social customs and ethical thoughts of old China were so ideal, and so

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superior to those of the rest of the world, why should the Japanese robbers promote every day in their occupied territories this same so-called "original culture" and the "original virtues of the Orient"? Is it because the Japanese robbers have really fallen in love with the Chinese nation, and consequently want the Chinese people to preserve and develop such "ideal" things so that they may destroy the aggression of the Japanese robbers?

Certain historical truths need to be discovered by thoughtful and meditative thinkers. Others are easily understood even by the most ordinary men and women. The reason the Japanese imperialist robbers particularly want the Chinese people to preserve and develop all these rotten, old, backward things, is that these "virtues" are the instruments with which they want to strangle the development of China's history, to strangle the resistance and self-consciousness of the Chinese people.

Why then should Mr. Chiang do his utmost to praise these things? What is liked by Mr. Chiang is also liked by the Japanese fascists. Is it because "all mouths prefer the same flavors and all ears prefer the same sounds"? The idealist interpretation of history adopted by Mr. Chiang is something with which we absolutely cannot agree, though we cannot discuss it here on account of lack of peace.

III. On the Modern Thought of China

As we know, in their aggressions against China, the imperialists have wanted the Chinese people to preserve all the old things, and have not wished them to be modernized economically, politically, or ideologically. The have not wanted the Chinese people to accept the advanced development of the West, or to have science, democracy and national consciousness, because these would turn China into a strong modern nation, which would be disadvantageous to the aggressors. Therefore the unequal treaties became fetters on the Chinese people to prevent them from accepting and developing the advanced ideas of the West. However, the theory of the author of *China's Destiny* is the opposite of this. It seems to him that it was only through the unequal treaties that the Chinese people became able to receive the advanced thought of Europe and America, and that for this reason the unequal treaties were bad. The author has tried his utmost to curse and scorn all the new culutre that came after the May Fourth Movement of 1919, and his talk of the "deepening of the influence of unequal treaties" is aimed mostly at this point.

What was the May Fourth movement? Let us quote a paragraph from the *New Democracy* by Comrade Mao Tze-tung:

"The May Fourth Movement was an anti-imperialist as well as an anti-feudal movement. The outstanding historical significance of the May Fourth Movement lies in the effect that it possessed a feature that was not present in the 1911 Revolution, *i.e.*, that it opposed imperialism and feudalism in the most

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thorough and uncompromising way. The reason the May Fourth Movement possessed this characteristic is that the capitalist economy of China had made new steps in its development at that time, and that the revolutionary intelligentsia of China had personally witnessed the disintegration of three big imperialist countries, Russia, Germany, and Austria; the wounding of two of them, Britain and France; the construction of the socialist state by the Russian proletariat; and the grip of proletarian revolutions on Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy. All these things gave the new hope for the liberation of the Chinese nation. Thus, the May Fourth Movement broke out at the call of the world revolution, of the Russian Revolution and Lenin, and was a part of the world proletarian revolution of that time. Although we did not have a Chinese Communist Party, during the May Fourth Movement many intellectuals did possess primary Communist thoughts and approved the Russian Revolution. At its beginning, the May Fourth Movement was a united front revolutionary movement of three kinds of people, the Communistic intelligentsia, the revolutionary petit-bourgeois intelligentsia, and the bourgeois intelligentsia (which formed the Right Wing). . . . The cultural revolution of the May Fourth Movement opposed feudal culture in a thoroughgoing way, and there was never such a great and thorough cultural revolution in the history of China. It achieved success under two banners: opposing the old morality and promoting the new morality, and opposing the old literature and promoting the new literature."

Therefore the May Fourth Movement initiated a great new epoch in the self-consciousness of the Chinese people. Without the May Fourth Movement, we could not have had the Great Revolution, the agrarian revolution and the war of resistance of the past six years. This is why the May Fourth Movement is so much hated by all reactionaries and counter-revolutionaries.

Imperialist aggression against China brought agony and bitterness to our people. It created within China a lot of imperialistic lackeys, from Tseng Kuo-fan, Li Hung-chang to our disciples and grand-disciples of Hitler, Mussolini and Tojo today. These lackeys have always served the foreign aggressors and can never avoid the stigma of traitors, no matter how hard they advocate the old culture, old ethics and old moralities of China. On the other hand, this same imperialist aggression forced the Chinese peoples to wake up from their dreams and compelled them to study the advanced thought and techniques of the foreign countries—for the sake of opposing the aggressors and their lackeys. Such are the dialectics of history.

The reform of Chinese thought began from the ideas of liberty, equality and fraternity advocated by the Tai-ping Revolution. The "study of benevolence" preached by Tan Szu-tung represented a brave offensive against the spider-web of old Chinese ethics and morality. At that time, lackeys of the Empress Dowager, such as Yeh Teh-huei and Chang Chih-tung, and representatives of reactionary ideologies, cursed the reform movement and

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shouted that "ethics" and "the way of the sages" were immutable. Their ideas have been inherited by all the subsequent traitors and reactionaries of China, even up to the present moment. The May Fourth Movement was a mass movement in ideology, and many stubborn elements, reactionaries and foreign lackeys, trembled like aspen leaves before this irresistible new force. However, a historical movement is never a straight line. Some of the participants of the May Fourth Movement continued going forward, others stopped midway, while still others changed their minds and ran in the opposite direction. Today, only the Communists and revolutionary democrats of China still remain as the pillars and shock fighters of the new culture. They are heading in the only direction that will revive the Chinese nation from its moribund state. These fighters do not change or compromise. They are the greatest source of the people's national confidence and national self-respect.

The author of *China's Destiny* writes:

"Since the May Fourth Movement, the ideas of liberalism and communism have prevailed in China . . . with the result that people generally consider that all western things are right and all that belongs to China is wrong. They worship this or that foreign country, all in a similar manner. Different cliques exist among them only because there is more than one country and one foreign theory in the world. Each clique imitates one particular country and worships one particular theory forming a group of its own, proud before its countrymen but submissive before the foreigner. Since the theories of the various countries are forever changing, the theory of each of these groups has to change unceasingly in accordance with the foreign changes. As to the struggle between liberalism and communism, it is merely a reflection of the opposition of Anglo-American thought to that of Russia. Such theories and politics are not only unfit for the national life and the people's livelihood of China and opposed to her original cultural spirit, but they also reveal that their promoters have fundamentally forgotten that they are Chinese and have lost the standpoint of learning for China and applying their learning for China."

No doubt, the advanced ideas of different countries are not the same. There is one kind of advanced thought (*e.g.*, democracy) which reflects a certain advanced stage (the anti-feudal stage) and is needed by a certain advanced revolutionary class at that stage; there is another kind of more advanced, or the most advanced, thought (*e.g.*, communism) which reflects a more advanced stage (anti-capitalist stage) and is needed by a more advanced revolutionary class.

Modern China finds herself in a period of great world changes, and the struggles and various relations, internal and external, of the various classes and various kinds of people in Chinese society are interwoven one with another. Therefore, even at the same time, the various schools of advanced thought in the world may be accepted by representatives of our various so-

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cial classes, and cooperation of a certain type may arise among them. Here is one example. Dr. Sun Yat-sen, a revolutionary bourgeois democrat, accepted the western democratic ideas of Lincoln (of the people, by the people and for the people), together with the experience of the Russian Revolution. He said: "I take Russia as my teacher," while the Chinese Communists, as the representatives of the proletariat, accepted scientific communism —Marxism-Leninism. Dr. Sun and the Communists cooperated with each other after 1924. This cooperation was beneficial to the nation as has been proved by the Great Revolution.

Again, there is another portion of our people, the liberals and the democrats, whose thoughts reflect the ideology of certain classes or strata, and who, according to their needs, may cooperate with the Communists in a certain period and on certain questions. Such cooperation is also beneficial to the nation, as has been proved by many facts. Whether this is fit for "the national life and the people's livelihood" depends upon one's view of the benefits of the nation and the people. Other than these, all are false issues.

It is rather peculiar that Mr. Chiang would openly oppose the liberal principles of Europe and America and the communistic principles of Russia. Do not all the fascist countries as well as their lackeys, like Wang Ching-wei, shout madly that every one must oppose liberalism and communism? Can we help fearing that as soon as they see Mr. Chiang's book, Hitler, Mussolini, Tojo, Wang Ching-wei and others will think that Mr. Chiang is singing in unison with them, and that the book will shock and disappoint Roosevelt, Churchill, Stalin and all anti-fascist people?

Moreover, the various countries of the world not only have their advanced and revolutionary ideas, but also reactionary and counter-revolutionary ones. Since there are progressives and reactionaries, revolutionaries and counter-revolutionaries in China, therefore, world reactionary and counter-revolutionary thoughts naturally find welcomers and worshipers among certain Chinese. There is no need for us to cite examples from afar. Here is a nearby one. Are not the official Kuomintang publications *San Min Chu I Semi-Monthly* and *Central Weekly* propagating on a great scale the fascism of Hitler and Mussolini, and describing Hitler and Mussolini as two of the "six great leaders" of the world? Yet this is only the surface. Besides this, there are certain groups who, fearing that fascism is too disreputable, too contrary to the national benefit, too unfavorable to the Allies, and too hand in glove with the German, Italian and Japanese robbers, dare not openly advocate it; but who try to smuggle it in as contraband under every kind of camouflage, and to peddle it everywhere. This is done, not only by the small men of the Kuomintang, but also by its important figures, as is now universally known.

As regard to the remark "proud before one's countrymen but submissive before foreigners," one

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should sometimes look in the mirror. There is a gentleman in China who thought, at the time of the Russian October Revolution and the Chinese Great Rovelution, that the Soviet Union might be helpful to him. So he went to the Soviet Union himself, humbly asked for advice, sent his son to study there, and declared that "China's revolution must be led by the Third International." Later on, when he became anti-communistic and anti-Soviet, the same gentleman went to Tokyo to interview Mitsuru Toyama, the Japanese secret service leader, and declared that it was necessary for China and Japan to unite. After that, he was converted to the "foreign" Christian religion. Later yet, as soon as Hitler came to power in Germany, he sent another son and a great number of his followers to study there—to learn fascism. For fully ten years, he relied on foreign funds and ammunition to fight against the revolutionary Chinese people in a war that was planned and directed by foreigners, among whom there was the famous General von Seekt, leader of the Reichswehr, and a German police chief whose special task was to teach secret service methods. Even after the outbreak of the war of resistance, he still relies on foreign powers and ammunition, and even expects the foreigners to fight the war for him. How shall we call this? Are not such actions and thoughts "proud before one's countrymen but submissive before the foreigners" and "the great hidden trouble of the national spirit"?

Now let us say something about the Communists. The thought of the Chinese nation is the thought of Mao Tze-tung—*i.e.*, Sinoized Marxism-Leninism. As far as theory of Marxism-Leninism is concerned, the Chinese Communists not only have the same ideology as the Russian Communists but also as the Communists of the various countries of the world. However, scientific Marxism - Leninism demands that the Communists of every nation work out their political program and decide their policies according to their own national conditions, and rely on their own people for self-salvation. The Chinese Communist Party works according to this principle. It has created all kinds of progressive forces, entirely through its own efforts, without dependence on any "foreign country." Not an item of ammunition was given it by foreign countries, nor has it ever relied on foreign funds to carry on its fight. It determines its own strategy, and is "self-resuscitating."

The Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army, led by the Chinese Communists, have resisted more than half of the Japanese forces stationed in China, and have never dreamed that the foreigners would do all the fighting for our country. In the regions under the influence of the Chinese Communists not a single unequal treaty, or even half af a treaty, has ever been signed with the foreigners—like the Tangkhu Truce, the Ho-Umetsu Agreement and the Shanghai Truce. The policies and actions of the Chinese Communists are welcomed everywhere by the Chinese people

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because they are identical with the interests of the nation and the people. The Chinese Communists have never relied on one country today and another country tomorrow, with an attitude as changeable as April showers, and have never been "proud before their countrymen but submissive before the foreigners." These are the results of the thoughts of the Chinese Communist Party, which is a hundred per cent revolutionary party of the Chinese people, "learning for China and applying their learing for China." It finds no comparison in China.

It is evident that from the beginning there have been two kinds of traditional cultures in China. One belongs to the people and is revolutionary and bright; the other is against the people and is counter-revolutionary and dark. At the commencement of contemporary Chinese history, the Tai-ping Revolution and Dr. Sun were the representatives of the former, while Tseng Kuo-fan and all the anti-Communist and anti-popular elements of the present time represent the latter. Despite the fact that there was foreign ideology in the Tai-ping Revolution, "liberty, equality and fraternity" truly represented the thoughts of the Chinese people. The Tai-ping leaders were real Chinese heroes. Despite the fact that Tseng Kuo-fan spoke constantly of "benevolence, righteousness, morality, and five ethical relations," etc., he was still a "two-fold slave to the Manchurians and to the imperialists. The Chinese Communists have succeeded to all the superior revolutionary traditions of China from ancient times down to Hung Hsiu-chuan and Dr. Sun Yat-sen, while the reactionaries have inherited the traditions of Tseng Kuo-fan and Ysh Teh-hwei. The reactionaries want to abolish the progressive traditions and preserve the backward ones, while we do exactly the reverse. This is where the difference lies in regard to the question of Chinese culture and thought.

IV. On the Kuomintang-Communist Relations

Mr. Chiang has disregarded all the main historical facts of the first Kuomintang - Communist cooperation and has made false, vicious accusations against the heroic and patriotic Chinese Communist Party. There are provocative words in this part of the book aimed at inflaming the people's enmity against the Chinese Communists. It is therefore necessary to bring to light once more pages of great importance in our history vitally connected with China's destiny.

In 1924, the Kuomintang was reorganized, and the first period of cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party was initiated under the direction of Dr. Sun Yat-sen. At that time, Dr. Sun was maintaining himself in Canton, in a tiny corner of South China. His revolutionary banner was not bright and his power did not extend beyond his own headquarters. All military, political, financial and other authority was in the hands of warlords who practiced counter-revolution under the revolutionary flag.

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And the Kuomintang did not have a single, healthy revolutionary organization anywhere in China strong enough to help the revolution.

It was at that time and under these conditions that Dr. Sun Yat-sen, with his brilliant farsightedness, asked for the help of the Chinese and Soviet Communist Parties. The Chinese Communist Party at once came forth sincerely to give Dr. Sun the aid, which together with help in every respect from the Soviet Union, made possible the reorganization of the Kuomintang and created a situation conpletely new in the Chinese Revolution.

First, regarding the revolutionary banner and revolutionary program, before this cooperation, the Kuomintang had no program against imperialism and against the feudal system. The nationalism of the Three People's Principles was originally meant to oppose the Manchus, and it became deficient in content once the Manchus were overthrown. This historical fact has been stated in Dr. Sun Yat-sen's *Past Events of the Chinese Revolution* and has been proved by all his works. The revolution against imperialism—is one of the main principles of the Chinese revolution. Without the anti-imperialistic movement, China would never get rid of her semi-colonial position, but on the contrary would become a colony of Japanese imperialism. The hoisting of the banner of anti-imperialist revolution and the carrying out of the revolutionary movement to oppose imperialism and to abolish the unequal treaties were important events, enabling the Chinese revolution to advance to a completely new stage, from the old democratic revolution to the new democratic revolution.

The Kuomintang's principle of democracy in the San Min Chu I, before the reorganization in 1924, was an expression of the old democracy which lacked the content of thorough struggle against the feudalistic system and for the liberation of the broad masses of working people. The principles of democracy and of people's livelihood had to be imbued with new content by setting out clearly the anti-feudal slogans. Only in this way could the revolutionary Chinese people again be mobilized in a revolutionary direction, and the Kuomintang proceed along a proper revolutionary way and acquire new vitality through unity with the revolutionary people.

The questions should be asked: Who were the first to bring such a clear revolutionary policy to the Chinese people? Who helped Dr. Sun Yat-sen to turn this revolutionary program into the program of the Kuomintang? Who other than the Chinese Communist Party? Since the revolution of 1911, the Kuomintang had been isolated, ignored by the people and the youth. After its reorganization, the situation changed. The Kuomintang began to connect with the people and once more to draw the youth. Was this not because of the new program against imperialism and feudalism? Besides, thanks to the brilliant farsightedness of Dr. Sun Yat-sen and his real supporters in the Kuomin-

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tang, should not the Kuomintang feel any gratitude to the Chinese Communist Party for this new program? Should it not ascribe any merit to the Chinese Communist Party?

The author of *China's Destiny* himself experienced these events. Please reflect. Why does he not write down the page of history? Is it "justice" to disregard it? Is it "honesty"?

Furthermore, were there any troops under Generalissimo Sun Yat-sen which could be counted on as a revolutionary army before the reorganization of the Kuomintang? Were there any troops which could stand a battle? Dr. Sun had attempted many Northern Expeditions; but was there a single expedition that was successful? Things changed after the reorganization. The Whampoa Academy was established to train revolutionary cadets. The men who initiated the foundation and organization of the academy were Dr. Sun Yat-sen, Mr. Liao Chung-kai and the Russian advisers. The author of *China's Destiny* did not then recognize the importance of this academy, and did not even want to be the president.

This was how the first revolutionary troops came into being. They defeated Chen Chun-ming twice; they beat down Yang Shi-min and Liu Tseng-huan and were at last able to carry out the Northern Expedition. The foundation and achievements of the revolutionary army at that time were unprecedented. For several decades, Dr. Sun had failed in his quest for the right direction. But in cooperation with the Chinese Communist Party and the Soviet Union, great military successes were achieved within a few short years. By whose merit was it that the Kuomintang was capable of extending its power to Wuhan and Nanking and of holding its position today? Please reflect! Why don't they write down this page of history? Is it "justice" to disregard these facts? Is this called "honesty"?

Mr. Chiang says: "The Kuomintang arose from the original, national moralities, with affection, faith, responsibility and duty as the basic principles of organizing the party. Unlike other parties and groups, it does not use dextrous tricks and cruel intrigues at all, nor does it resort to self-interest and selfishness as its instinct of combination."

Well, please look into history! History is the witness. The help which the Chinese Communist Party rendered to the Kuomintang was so great and so decisive, that since 1924, all the revolutionary achievements of the Kuomintang have been inseparable from the name of the Chinese Communist Party. In the military sphere, for instance, how many Chinese Communists and members of the Communist Youth League sacrificed their lives in the two Eastern campaigns and on several fronts of the Northern Expedition while dashing forward at the head of their fellow soldiers? Mr. Chiang himself acknowledged that the blood sacrificed by the Communists and the Kuomintang members is inseparable when he wrote a preface to the Alumni Souvenir

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Album of the Whampoa Academy.

But what did the representatives of the big bourgeoisie offer the Communists as a "reward"? Having unified Kwangtung Province and gained a certain position, the representatives of the big capitalists doublecrossed the Communists, upon whom they had formerly depended. The so-called "Incident of the Gunboat Chung-san" was fabricated on March 20, 1926. The incident, according to the author, was plotted by the Communist Party. But historical examples are plentiful. Did not Hitler talk of a plot by the German Communist Party after he burnt the Reichstag? The reason the representatives of the Chinese big bourgeoisie carried out such a criminal plot on March 20 was that they wanted a pretext for driving the Chinese Communists from the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang, from the Whampoa Academy, and from the main posts of the National Revolutionry Army. They wanted to restrict the activities of the Communists within the Kuomintang. They created this plot because they knew well that the Chinese Communist Party did not want to break the united front and they expected that the Communists were honest enough to be easily cheated.

Was that "reason"? Was that not playing "dextrous tricks or cruel intrigues"? Was that not "self-interest and selfishness"? Was that "justice"? Was that "honesty"?

Nevertheless, the man who plotted the March 20 Incident was not yet prepared to annihilate all the Communists because he had not yet arrived at Nanking, because the Communists still had certain usefulness for him. We shall not discuss here the many serious faults within the Communist Party under the opportunist leadership of Chen Tu-hsiu. But it was definitely correct for the Chinese Communists at that time to insist upon cooperation with the Kuomintang and to support the line of the Northern Expedition. While holding this correct line, the Chinese Communists heroically participated in military operations. Among the great number of party representatives and political workers in all the main forces of the National Revolutionary Army whose victories amazed the world, were not the majority members of the Chinese Communist Party and the Communist Youth League? The Chinese Communists had also organized the people, organized plain-clothes squadrons throughout the country, organized three workers' uprisings in Shanghai to coordinate with the action of the military forces, and created a Great Revolution unprecedented in China.

On the one hand, the representatives of the big capitalists perceived the necessity for using the Communists and revolutionary workers and peasants to serve their own purpose of arriving at Nanking and securing the controlling position in the country. On the other hand, they prepared for the massacre under the name of the "purge" once they had succeeded in these objectives.

The fault of the Communists then was that they were too innocent. They paid no attention to the cruel

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counter-revolutionary intrigues of the big bourgeoisie while they were helping the Northern Expedition and launching the Great Revolution. And the guilt of the opportunist leadership of Chen Tu-hsiu lies in the fact that it actually helped the successful realization of this counter-revolutionary scheme.

There is no past example in Chinese history, even in world history, of the horrors of the "purge" which began on April 12, 1927. Innumerable heroic and patriotic Communists, revolutionary workers and peasants, as well as members of the Kuomintang who were really faithful to revolutionary principles and to the Three Policies of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, fell suddenly and unexpectedly under the executioners' swords of the big bourgeoisie.

Brother people! Comrades! This is the "faith" of an ally of yesterday! This is the "justice" and "honesty" of the big capitalist! These are not "dextrous tricks and cruel intrigues"! This is not "self-interest and selfishness"! And only those who were killed innocently are accused of "dextrous tricks or cruel intrigues" and of resorting to "self-interest and selfishness"! Who is it intended to deceive? The heavens?

We have long ceased to talk about the above-mentioned events. We have been tolerant indeed during the war of resistance for the cause of the country. But now Mr. Chiang has mentioned these events and made all kinds of vicious and slanderous accusations against the Communist Party. Indeed, we Communists and all the Chinese people would with justice and enthusiasm let those things be forgotten if they were not mentioned. But once they are mentioned, our hearts cannot help being filled with boiling anger, because the Chinese Communists have shed their blood! It is the blood of innumerable revolutionaries and able young men and toiling workers and peasants! It is the blood of the élite of this nation! Since the beginning of the "purge," too many people died under the sword of the Kuomintang! Too many! Too many!

Mr. Chiang says: "I cannot make clear even today the inside story of the Wang-Communist collaboration—whether the Communist Party was utilized by Wang Ching-wei, or Wang Ching-wei was utilized by the Communist Party, or whether they were mutually-utilized." This question which Mr. Chiang advances is a strange one indeed. But it involves a big plot. It is hinted that the Chinese Communists conspired with the traitor Wang Ching-wei. Well, let us look at history. Everybody knows that in the course of the Great Revolution of 1925-27, there was not only a "Wang-Communist collaboration" when Wang Ching-wei was still revolutionary, but also a "Chiang-Communist collaboration" when Mr. Chiang was still revolutionary. There was also a "Chiang - Wang collaboration" when Wang Ching-wei was still revolutionary. At that time, why should we not have collaborated with him? Just as at the time when you, Mr. Chiang, were still revolutionary, why should we not have collaborated with you?

As for "utilizing," the matter of

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who utilized others is too clear a historical fact. The Communists have no need to utilize anyone; but they believe it is necessary to cooperate with certain people under the condition that such cooperation is favorable to the revolution. But there were some persons who really intended to make use of the Communists. They made use of the situation when it was favorable to them, but if anything occurred to impede their own aims, they murdered their friends. Wang Ching-wei did so and so did Chiang Kai-shek.

Let us put these questions to Mr. Chiang. After the Mukden Incident on September 18, 1931, Wang Ching-wei collaborated for a long time with Mr. Chiang. Wang Ching-wei had not signed treacherous agreements and become a traitor at the time of the "Wang-Communist collaboration." But things were completely different at the time of the "Wang-Chiang collaboration." As the President of the Executive Yuan and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Wang Ching-wei put forth the treacherous policy of "negotiation while preparing for defense," signed the Shanghai Truce, the Tangku Truce and the Ho-Umetzu Agreement, proclaimed a "good neighbor policy" and negotiated with Japan. After the outbreak of the war of resistance, when Mr. Chiang became the Director-General of the Kuomintang, Wang Ching-wei became the Vice-Director and was appointed by the C.E.C. of the Kuomintang to the chairmanship of the People's Political Council, and other posts. But he escaped from Chungking to Nanking and became the No. 1 traitor. We cannot make clear even today the inside story of all these collaborations, whether Wang Ching-wei was utilized by Chiang Kai-shek or Chiang Kai-shek was utilized by Wang Ching-wei, or whether they mutually utilized each other.

Writing of the failure of the national revolution midway in its course and the split between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party in 1927, which aroused a civil war lasting ten years, Mr. Chiang blames the whole crime on the greedy hands of the traitor Wang Ching-wei by saying that "It happened because of the tragedy of the split between Nanking and Wuhan." Here it seems that the author deprecates himself and honors the traitor Wang Ching-wei too much. Please have an eye on history and see how the split between Nanking and Wuhan really took place. Was it not due to the "party purge" that began on April 12, 1927? Whose greedy hands were responsible for the "purge" of April 12? Was it not you, Mr. Chiang, who should have the credit?

It was after the split between Nanking and Wuhan, not before the split, that Wang Ching-wei went to Wuhan and speculated in Revolution. When Wuhan was menaced by the imperialists and the reactionary Nanking Government, Wang Ching-wei turned from wavering to reaction. Did not the "purging movement" of Wang Ching-wei follow your "purging movement" against the Communists, Mr. Chiang?

The author's idea in the cited paragraph seems to be that the

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Communist Party would have been annihilated once for all, and that the "Communist problem" would exist no longer, had it not been for the Wuhan Government. The author is wrong. Under any circumstance, the Communists can never be wiped out by slaughtering. The Communists never die. The Chinese Communist Party is like "the wild grass which can never be burnt away and which will grow again under the spring breeze." History has proved this.

Mr. Chiang Kai-shek further enumerates many of the so-called "crimes" allegedly committed by the Communist Party. But "crimes" cannot be manufactured so easily. Mr. Chiang has slaughtered without pity more than a million people who were the nation's élite and constituted the momentum behind the Eastern Campaign and the Northern Expedition. So why should it be difficult for him to fabricate "crimes"? Is there any necessity to talk of "conscience"? The Chinese Communists know that in slaughterings it is necessary to change all merits of the victims into crimes. This is, of course, the proper "logic" of "cruel intrigues." Chinese Communists have experienced innumerable and terrible misfortunes; they know those self-appointed representatives of "Benevolence, righteousness, superior conduct" and original morality as lord high executioners. The people know their hearts well. Where are the "benevolence, righteousness, and superior conduct"? It is more likely that their hearts are filled with greed and bestiality!

It is true that "the experiences of this period of revolution were too painful, the losses of the country were too heavy and the people's sacrifices were too terrible." But where is the repentance of the executioners?

Who launched the ten year's civil war? The Communists and the revolutionary workers and peasants were compelled to fight in self-defense. Should they not have done this? Is it true that the Governor has the right to burn houses while the people have no right to light a lamp? Is it necessary that Communists and revolutionaries should not take up arms in self-defense but should instead be willingly cheated, arrested, tortured and killed like lambs?

To help the peasants obtain the land and develop their own production was what we Communists did during the agrarian revolution. This constituted our "unpardonable crime of rebellion." But was it really a crime? Were we criminal when we sought prosperity for the peasantry, which constitutes more than eighty per cent of the whole population?

Who is responsible for flooding Chinese territory with blood, as the army marched forward destroying our peaceful villages? Please refer to the figures given in your official reports during the ten years' civil war. You killed hundreds and thousands of "bandits" here one day, and killed hundreds and thousands of "bandits" there another day. The so-called "bandits" were none other than peaceful peasants in our peaceful villages. Towns and villages

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were burnt by the so-called "Bandit-suppression Army." Cannon, airplanes and machine-guns supplied by foreign countries were concentrated to bomb our peaceful villages. They were glad to burn down even the rice and wheat in the fields of our peaceful peasants. This is "honesty"! This is "benevolence, righteousness and morality"!

With fortitude and pain the Chinese Communists have fought together with the people, led the Red Army, broke through "Punitive Encirclements" and succeeded in preserving the best representatives of the Chinese people. They have forged an army with experience in thousands of engagements, able to resist more than half of the Japanese troops in China and defend half of China's territories. If there were no Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies which were forged by the Communist Party and which are fighting against the enemy troops in such great numbers, could the Kuomintang withstand the enemy attack independently? If the troops of the Kuomintang could not stand independently, then is it not possible that the enemy might already have driven straight into Chungking, Kunming, Sian and Lanchow? Then how could China have survived until now? How could China be counted as one of the four big powers? And how could the authoritative gentlemen of the Kuomintang still sit safely and snugly in Chungking?

Mr. Chiang says, "If there were no Three People's Principles, there would also be no resistance; if there were no Chinese Kuomintang, there would also be no revolution." But in fact, the contrary is true. If there had been no Chinese Communist Party, the Three People's Principles would have had no new content (first of all, the principle of anti-imperialism, and of the abolition of unequal treaties in the Principle of Nationalism); if there had been no Chinese Communist Party, the great revolution would not have arrived. This is also true for the Kuomintang of today. If there had been no Chinese Communist Party, not only would the situation of the Great Revolution be unimaginable, but also the mighty war of resistance of the last six years. The Chinese Communist Party was born to fight for the well-being of the nation and the people, and to help everyone to work in the interests of the people. We do not intend to praise ourselves constantly, but the wolf-hearted reactionaries in the Kuomintang not only try to tread on the Communists after having used them, but also spread scandalous rumors against them. So long as a Communist still has a mouth to speak, it is necessary for him to denounce these counter-revolutionary libels.

That the Chinese Communists are loyal to their country is plain to all the world. Before the Sian Incident they repeatedly urged the Kuomintang to stop the internecine fighting, and to initiate a resistance through unity. Judging the Communists from its own selfish viewpoint, the Kuomintang thought the Communists were compelled to do this because they had come to a dead end. Nevertheless, when the

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Sian Incident broke out, the Chinese Communist Party, not only did not take the opportunity for "looting during a fire," but, instead, for the consolidation of the nation, forgot the bitter enmity of the purging movement and the ten years' civil war and resolutely insisted on the release of Mr. Chiang. This brought about his release; yet he still tries to destroy the Eighth Route and the New Fourth Armies. To return evil for good has always been the philosophy of the big capitalists of China.

The Marco Polo Bridge Incident occurred, the war of resistance broke out, and the Eighth Route and the New Fourth Armies went immediately to the front, penetrating deeply into the occupied territories behind the enemy's lines with results known to the whole world. But what has been the attitude of the Kuomintang towards them? Not only does it block the war news of the two armies, but it also arrests the Communists on a large scale, rebukes them, attacks them, and kills them. Large numbers of secret service men conspire to penetrate into the Communist Party, attack it from the inside and outside so as completely to "destroy" it. Even in the occupied areas behind the lines, the troops led by the Kuomintang members have not attacked the Japanese troops but instead have attacked the Eighth Route and the New Fourth Armies. Since these two armies were really attacking the Japanese troops, they were subjected to blows by both the enemy and the Kuomintang troops. However, these are not called "dextrous tricks" or "cruel intrigues," "self-interest and selfishness," but rather "utmost justice." "utmost honesty" and "utmost unselfishness"!

All the things mentioned above, we have "endured for the nation." We have mentioned them neither in speeches nor in written words. However, the author of *China's Destiny* centers his attacks upon the Chinese Communist Party, and recently the Kuomintang published the news of the demand for "disbanding the Chinese Communist Party" and "abolishing the Border Regions" through the official Central News Agency, and meanwhile has been preparing forces to invade the Border Regions. If, after all this, we still kept silence, we would feel sorry not only for all the Communists who have sacrificed themselves, but also for all our fellow countrymen, for the Chinese nation and for our twenty-two years of party history.

* * *

Chapter VII of *China's Destiny*, "The Artery of Chinese Revolutionary Reconstruction and the Pivot Upon Which China's Destiny Is Determined" is the nucleus of the entire book. The central idea of this book is actually "one party, one principle, one leader," or that the Kuomintang is China and vice versa. The thought "I am the state" of the French tyrant Louis XIV is completely revived here. To the citizens and youth of the whole country this chapter is full of words of threat and enticement, compelling them to join the Kuomintang and the San Min Chu I Youth Corps. In relation to all Communists, however, it is a pretext for slaughter. The

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accusing words, "the new feudalism and the camouflaged warlords" are clearly meant for the Eighth Route and the New Fourth Armies and all the anti-Japanese democratic bases. The author says: "If this behavior of the feudal warlords is not corrected thoroughly and the determination of military partition is not given up fundamentally, any leniency towards them would be fruitless and I cannot see that any reasonable measure can be devised."

First, let us make a study of the "leniency" of Mr. Chiang and the Kuomintang authorities. We wonder if it can be called leniency to arrest the Communists, to kill them, to rebuke them, to attack them and to despatch large numbers of secret agents to penetrate into the Communist Party.

Well, you may say the Communists deserve to be killed a thousand times. But how about other parties, the various social groups, the cultural and economic organizations, non-party people with a sense of justice, the pure youth, and even the genuinely patriotic Koumintang who are entirely non-Communist and not connected with the two Armies and the anti-Japanese democratic bases? What kind of "leniency" have they ever received? Have they any freedom to publish thir own views? Any freedom of assembly or association? Any freedom to refuse to act as secret agents? Have such Kuomintang members as Madame Sun Yat-sen (Soong Chin-ling), Madame Liao Chung K'ai (Ho Hziang-ning), and tens of thousands of others any freedom of speech or action?

In economic life, beside the fact that the people in the rear have no freedom to demand reduction of interest or rent, that the workers have no freedom to earn a living wage, have the medium and the small capitalists or the small producers any freedom to increase their output? Are not all the enterprises exclusively monopolized? Monopolized to such an extent as not to permit the small producers to get back their capital, resulting in the gradual decline of production? Can all this be called "leniency"?

However, Mr. Chiang and the authorities of the Kuomintang are certainly lenient with some. That is to say they are lenient with the local bullies and the oppressive gentry, with those dirty and avaricious officials, lenient with the several hundreds of anti-revolutionary secret service organs—the rascals and outlaws of the whole country, lenient with the Fifth Columnists of the Japanese, lenient with the traitor clique under Wang Ching-wei, lenient with Tao Hsi-sheng, Wu Kai-hsian and so on, the spies of the Japanese and Wang Ching-wei, lenient with the thirty-three generals who capitulated to the enemy, lenient with the fact that Miss Kung Lin-i flew to America with a large dowry to be married there. There is really too much leniency; but pray, is it beneficial to the nation, to the country? What are its results—besides the destruction of the enthusiasm, self-confidence, self-respect and resourcefulness of our anti-Japanese people?

Next, let us examine the "camouflaged warlords." The Eighth Route

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and the New Fourth Armies are holding over half of the enemy troops on the battlefields behind their own lines. Without any replenishments of guns, bullets or funds from the National Government, they fight with unprecedented valor as the most courageous volunteers of the nation. Can they be called "camouflaged warlords"?

The Eighth Route and the New Fourth Armies came from and are beloved by the people, because of their policies of unanimity between soldiers and officials and between soldiers and civilians, of supporting the government, of loving the people, and of production for self-sufficiency. If somebody has to call them "camouflaged warlords," what harm do these "warlords" do to the country and the nation? And what losses do the people suffer from them? On the contrary, would it not be better to have more of them? The more we have of them, the better, the more powerful will be our resistance, and the better protected will be the people. We must inquire, who is a real warlord? Are not all the anti-Communist and anti-popular elements the real warlords? The real warlords flaunt their violence and lawlessness throughout the whole country, yet they are so shameless as to dare to rebuke the Communists as "camouflaged warlords."

Further, let us examine the "new feudalism." Shall we take the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region as an example? We have democratic politics there. The people live in peace and enjoy their work; the soldiers and civilians are unanimously and enthusiastically developing production; many labor heroes are appearing; the people and the government, the functionaries and the masses, soldier and civilian are warmly united as members of one family. The savagery and poverty resulting from control by militarists and the rascally party members of the Kuomintang and secret agents have been done away with during these several years. The people are gradually treading the road toward plenty in food and clothing. Can this be called the "new feudalism"? If somebody has to call it "new feudalism," what harm is there in it to the country and the nation? What losses will the people suffer from it? On the contrary, it is better to have more of it. The more we have of it, the more broadly will the Three People's Principles be realized and the more quickly and completely will the last will of Dr. Sun Yat-sen be carried into effect.

But let us now look at the old feudalism in the rear of the main Chinese lines. The cruel and heartless oppression and exploitation, the oligarchic despotic policy, a hundred times worse than those of Emperor Chin, the First, several hundreds of bandit-like anti-Communist secret service corps throughout the whole country, are not all these the familiar signs of compradore fascism of the Chinese style?

We are wondering what Mr. Chiang means by the statement, "I cannot see that any reasonable measure can be devised." Does it mean that a civil war is the only solution of this problem? If this is

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true, for the sake of the nation and the people, we call for a stop to it. Were the experiences and lessons of the last ten years of civil war not sufficiently cruel?

Mr. Chiang says: "Formerly China's destiny relied on the foreign policy. . . . Hereafter it will depend on the internal policy. . . ." The spirit of Mr. Chiang's book may be summarized in two words, "internal problems." Nevertheless, everyone knows well that up to the present a great part of our beautiful country is still in the hands of the enemy and though Great Britain and the United States have abolished their unequal treaties with China, most of those rights were in the occupied areas and we can reap no benefit from their surrender without a final victory over the Japanese robbers.

There are still many handicaps to overcome. The fundamental problem of today is one of opposing the invaders—to vanquish the enemy with unity, and not to attack one's fellow fighters and prepare for a civil war. Mr. Chiang has suggested that the choice is between "consolidating sincerely, to serve the public and to obey the law" and "practicing deception and falsehood, disobeying regulations and misbehaving." Thus he considers the "watershed of China's destiny which will be decided in the period of the resistance and within two years." But there are still many questions to be asked. Are the preparations of friction, the instigation of civil war, and the attitude of "thine is mine and mine is also mine" methods of "sincere consolidation"? Those who capitulated to the enemy are free from chastisement; those who effectively resist the enemy's invasion are not rewarded; avaricious elements and wolf-hearted scoundrels are in authority; feudalism, absolutism and selfishness prevail. Is all this "to serve the public and to obey the law"? To force and entice the youth to spy for the secret services, to compel them to penetrate into the Communist Party, into all other "alien" parties and groups, and into mass organizations and intellectual and educational circles; to bring them up not as upright people but as men of two-fold character—is not this "deception and falsehood"? To refuse to realize the Three People's Principles and the Program of Resistance and Reconstruction; to practice their exact apposite—is not that "to disobey regulations and to misbehave"? Does the sentence "China's destiny will be decided in the period of resistance and within two years" mean that an internal front line will be organized within two years in order to destroy all "alien" parties?

We hope that these questions will be answered by Mr. Chiang. For we know very well, since fascism appeared openly or secretly in Chinese territory, it has been served up under various names. If this *China's Destiny* eventually becomes a tool of civil war, how will Mr. Chiang express himself before all our countrymen? It is no wonder that after the publication of the book in March, 1943, the rumor began to spread that it was a war proclamation to the Chinese people, that it

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represents a preparation of ideology and general opinion for a civil war. "To decide the fate of China in two years" is clearly written down in this book.

Yes, there is certainly a group of gentry who intrigue to disband the Eighth Route Army (the New Fourth Army has already been disbanded), to dissolve the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region, and who are preparing a large-scale civil war. They have even ordered one of their secret service organs composed of the vilest Trotskyites to bark in Sian about disbanding the Communist Party—and the news was spread by the official Central News Agency.

But the Chinese Communists and the Chinese people have their own clear brains and hot blood. They will continuously develop their daring spirit, struggling for the maintenance of resistance against civil war, for national consolidation against national split, for the maintenance of the anti-Japanese united front, for the resolute realization of the Three People's Principles, for the ultimate victory over Japanese imperialism, and finally for the liberation of the Chinese people. It is precisely for these objectives that, should the reactionaries dare to challenge them, they will stand up in self-defense. We would like to tell all these intriguers that the Chinese Communist Party can never be annihilated, that all the anti-Japanese democratic bases can never be annihilated, because the life, happiness and heroism of the Chinese nation can never be annihilated. The twenty-two years' history of the Chinese Communist Party is a clear evidence of this. The Chinese people will surely advance along the road of progress and light, not retreat along the road of backwardness and darkness. Whoever dares to stand in their way will certainly have his pitiable little head broken.

Are the Communists "selfish"? The Chinese Communists give up their families and their homes for the nation and the people, and they are ready to give up their lives for the benefit of the people. There is not one among them who has sought his private gain out of the blood and sweat of the people. There is not a Communist who has grown rich as a result of his being a Communist. They endeavor to work for the people, but not to become officials, especially not officials of high rank. Who "takes his individual lust as the premise"? Who "takes his individual benefits as the center"? Please make a study of internal conditions in Koumintang China. Outside of the genuinely patriotic Kuomintang members, are there not many who accumulate private property by squeezing the people? Are there not many who were penniless before, but became millionaires as soon as they got official position, and who are dissipated and shameless though rich and of high rank? Are these not known to all?

Alas! All these crimes are committed under the name of "justice" "honesty" and "unselfishness." There are certainly gentry who are planning the disbanding of the Communist Party and the abolition of the Border Regions, and are pre-

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paring for a large-scale civil war under the same flag of "justice." "honesty" and "unselfishness." What is all this, if it is not "to take one's individual lust as the premise" and "to take one's individual benefit as the center"?

V. An Appeal for the Future of China, and for the People, Youth and Children of China.

What kind of country China ought to be after the war has been pointed out in the *New Democracy* of Comrade Mao Tze-tung and in the Manifesto of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the war of resistance. But, after reading *China's Destiny* we find there is room for suspicion that things are going differently and that it is necessary to make an appeal for justice in time. There is such an appeal in the Communist Party's Manifesto of July this year, opposing splitting and the civil war, insisting on unification and the war of resistance.

Politically, *China's Destiny* has taken the old despotism as its pattern. The author eulogizes the Ching Dynasty, saying: "In the Ching Dynasty, the scale of national reconstruction was so magnificent and far-sighted and the political structures and codes were so well and precisely planned, that it could actually compare with the traditions of the Han and Tang Dynasties and surpassed those of the Sung and Ming Dynasties, not to say the Yuan." Again he says: "So far as the politics of the various dynasties of China are concerned, a policy of 'leniency' was generally adopted towards the people." The people retained almost no connection with the government except to pay their taxes. The Chinese people have enjoyed "full freedom" from the earliest days. It is unnecessary for them to fight for freedom!

According to the author: "Since the unequal treaties were concluded the cultural circles of China lost their self-confidence. They followed blindly the theories of the foreigners and some introduced the European thoughts of the eighteenth century to destroy the spirit of the 'rule by law' among Chinese citizens." We, on the contrary, know that since democratic thought was introduced into China, it has opened the eyes of our people and caused them to rise up to fight for the overthrow of despotism. Dr. Sun Yat-sen was one such fighter. Yet according to the author all their efforts were wasted, because China was already well organized under the "rule of law" of early days. Does this not imply that if there were no unequal treaties every point of the old politics of China could be entirely good and right? Such an opinion is not only opposed to the democratic thought of Dr. Sun Yat-sen but is also contrary to the hope of the Chinese people at the present hour and to the aim of the Allies in the anti-fascist war.

The author says again: "It ought to be realized that the democratic system of China should not take the democratic system of individualism and the class theory of Europe and America of the nineteenth century

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as its pattern." That is to say, the author not only wants no new democracy but he also wants no old democracy. He would not permit the people to enjoy any freedom. What is this if it is not the combination of fascism and old absolutism —or new absolutism? What is this, if not the compradore-feudalist fascism of the Chinese pattern? The so-called "democratic system" which the author proposes is nothing but another name for this kind of fascism or new absolutism. Is not "fascist Germany" still called the "Republic of Germany"?

Furthermore, the author has distorted the essence of the "Sun Yat-sen Theory," the theory that "understanding is difficult; action is easy" propounded by Dr. Sun, and has given an opposite explanation for it. He eulogizes the old saying of Confucius, "to enable the people to follow but not to understand." He eulogizes the execution of Shao Tzen-mao by Confucius. The people-fooling philosophy of Confucius has been taken up openly. But Confucius' cruel intrigue in executing Shao Tzen-mao has been exposed clearly by Chang Tai-jen. Is it not clear that Mr. Chiang is actually insisting on the execution of all holders of opposition thought at the present hour, when most of the Allies are advocating freedom of thought in the anti-fascist war? Mr. Chiang has given a warning to those who do not believe in the compradore - feudalist fascism or new absolutism. He would take all these people and subject them to the fate of Shao Tzen-mao—execute them.

The basic content of the so-called "Fundamental Problems of Revolution and Reconstruction" mentioned in the sixth chapter of *China's Destiny* is, firstly, opposition to democracy and, secondly, opposition to freedom of thought. This is the real crisis destroying the spirit and thought of the Chinese people.

Everyone knows that the central concern of Dr. Sun Yat-sen derived from his experiences of forty years was to raise the masses of the people. This viewpoint is the exact opposite of the central thought of *China's Destiny*. Either to support the people or to oppress them is the fundamental problem of the Chinese revolution, the fundamental distinction between the revolutionary and counter-revolutionary political lines, the fundamental distinction between the national and anti-national political lines. The central problem of raising the masses is the problem of democracy and of freedom of thought, by which the people's forces can be developed. The counter-revolutionary line is definitely opposed to this and demands that the forces of the nation be killed. This is also the problem of national policy "in its real meaning but not in name," the problem of governmental policy, and the problem of the destiny of the nation and the future of the country.

That we are weak and have been insulted by the enemy is the result of the oppression of our people by despotic policies. If, after the war, our people are still oppressed by despotism, China will never be liberated. All reconstructions will be fruitless. This is not an exaggerated

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statement. The history of the past several decades has proved it to the hilt.

The secret-service-controlled education which the reactionary representatives of the big capitalists and the big landlords have imposed in the Chinese rear is a tremendous injustice to the youth. The masses of the youth, with their unadulterated minds, enjoy no freedom to choose their line of thought basing themselves upon their own reason. Moreover, some of the reactionary elements have taken "Left thought" as a bait to lure the youth, especially the more vital and capable among them. As soon as they are tempted to swallow this bait, they are compelled even to give their families or relations as hostages for their own lives. This policy has been imposed on the children of thirteen or fourteen years. All the situations are quite beyond the imagination of any human thought. These intrigues are not only not different from those of Hitler, Mussolini and Tojo, they even surpass them. This is the policy of "protecting the youth" and "not utilizing the youth." This is the policy of benevolence and sincerity! We dare to cry loudly to all the people of the whole country: this is the slaughter of youths and children! This is a tremendous spiritual calamity for Chinese youth which has never suffered so before! This is a tremendous spiritual calamity for our whole Chinese nation! We do not know whether the so-called "social customs of sincerity and honesty" suggested by the author of *China's Destiny* are customs of this kind or not. But it should be pointed out that these social customs are directly imposed by the secret service, propaganda, educational, and organizational organs of the C.E.C. of the Kuomintang and by the San Min Chu I Youth Corps.

China's Destiny has been described as a "bible" to be read by all the youth and children in the rear. How brutal it is to burden compulsorily the brains of youths and children with such fabrications and distortions of history, and with the ethics and dogmatism which were once described by Yeh Teh-huei as the number one of the world. Is this not a grievous and critical portent for the future of our nation?

We appeal for the future of the Chinese nation, for the future of the Chinese people—the youth and children, the younger generation. We demand of Mr. Chiang Kai-shek, of all the patriotic members of Kuomintang, of all anti-Japanese political parties and all our patriotic countrymen that they be united, that they insist on the war of resistance, that they oppose the civil war, that they insist on consolidation and oppose all splitting, that they insist on the theory of the Three People's Principles, that they oppose compradore-feudalist fascism—the new absolutism. Let the Chinese people breathe freely! Give the youth and children of China the opportunity to choose their line of thought by the light of their own reason! Save the young generation of the nation! China must not go along the old road of despotism, civil war, darkness, slaughter and secret service! Let the new democracy, in which the people are their own masters, be born! Long live China!

July, 1943.

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URGENT QUESTIONS OF PARTY GROWTH AND ORGANIZATION

BY JOHN WILLIAMSON

IN THIS first month of the "silver jubilee" year of the American Communist Party, we prepare to launch a recruiting campaign for 25,000 new members. The urgent need of a larger Communist Party to help meet the increased responsibilities—on both the military and home fronts—of the labor movement and the nation in 1944 coincides with the most favorable circumstances for party building in the history of the party.

These favorable circumstances improve our opportunities in this, the largest of all party recruiting campaigns. Experience emphasizes, however, that recruiting must be an integral part of the energetic involvement of our entire membership in the various phases of mass work and the parallel maximum independent activities of the party. Workers must be convinced that the United States needs a Communist Party. We must explain our past and present contributions to the nation and at the same time wage an ideological struggle against all distortions of party policy.

Today, new millions are learning to understand the true role of the American Communist Party. They remember the accuracy of its characterization of Munich and the whole appeasement policy to which Munich gave its name. They especially remember that the Communist Party first, and most energetically, pointed out the danger that this policy held for America. Few will question the correctness of all those, with the Communists in the forefront, who rallied support for Loyalist Spain against the Nazis and fascists. Many will recall that this support was rallied in opposition to the "non-intervention" policy of our own government, because this governmental policy was contrary to the national interests of the United States. Similarly with the struggle over the years against such present-day defeatists as Hoover, Landon, Coughlin, Wheeler, and Dies.

The weight of the labor movement in support of the most energetic and complete prosecution of the war against the Axis and the fight against the defeatist forces on the home front could never be so effective as it is, without the years of propaganda and struggle for industrial unionism and the unionizing activities in the basic industries,

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during which the Communists contributed their work and even lives unstintingly. If the nation today has measures of social security embodied in the law of the land; if unity of the nations and peoples of the Western Hemisphere on the basis of the "good neighbor" policy has been achieved; and if unity of Negro and white behind the war effort is greatly advanced and the struggle for full political and economic rights for the Negro people is receiving growing support, the past contributions and struggles of the Communist Party on these issues — many times standing alone and in the face of great abuse and danger—cannot be forgotten.

The decisive thing in the minds of the great majority of the people is the consistency of the policies of the Communist Party. Guided by this consistency, Communists have been able to exert a positive influence on such vital issues as mobilizing the American nation for the just war in which the independence and national security of our country are at stake; the need for a close coalition of the powerful nations—the U.S.A., the Soviet Union and Great Britain—and common military action against Hitler Germany; the struggle for an effective war labor policy predicated on maximum increase in war production, maintenance of the conditions and morale of the workers, and economic stabilization; the no-strike pledge made by labor and the struggle to isolate and defeat the defeatist and insurrectionist elements led by John L. Lewis inside labor's ranks.

The recruiting of 25,000 new members must be accomplished as a result of clarity and activities of our party around the following major issues:

a. Hasten victory over the Axis and Hitler fascism by the fullest support and quickest fulfillment of the decisions of the Moscow, Cairo, and Teheran Conferences; continue and strengthen the coalition of the U.S.A., the Soviet Union and Great Britain for a happier post-war world.

b. Secure victory in the 1944 elections for the win-the-war forces and insure continuation of the victory policies and leadership of our nation; hold the home front of the people, expose and fight every Hitler agent who wants to divide it; help organize labor's political strength on a united basis in every ward and Congressional district, broaden this unity to include the Negro people, national groups, professionals, small businessmen and all other forces for victory in the 1944 elections.

c. Strengthen the war morale of labor and the people on the home front by a real wage-price-rent-tax program in the interest of the people and the national war effort.

d. Strengthen labor's war contribution through organizing the unorganized, establishing labor-management committees and increasing production; ensure the representation of all American labor at the international labor conference to be held in London in June.

e. Fight to abolish the poll tax and all other divisive legislation aimed against the people.

Our party has a special role and

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responsibility on all the issues outlined above as we enter the final stage of the war against Hitler and prepare to participate in the fateful 1944 elections, so crucial for the future of our country and the world. We must make certain that clarity and understanding are brought to the people, first of all to labor. We must demonstrate our ability to be the most resolute fighters for unity and common action on behalf of the people and the nation.

Today, labor's task, in helping to hammer out a fighting unity of the nation behind the Teheran Conference decisions, is greater than ever before. The new millions who became workers during the war—the housewives, farmers, white collar workers and professionals — must acquire a working class ideology. These new millions must learn the contribution of the trade union movement, as a result of years of struggle and organization, to the improved present-day conditions of the working class. They must become imbued with the spirit of democracy and show it in the fight against all reactionary and fascist expressions, such as anti-Semitism, resistance to full equality of Negro people, labor and Communist-baiting. Clarity and understanding on these issues are contributions the Communist Party must particularly direct itself to, as a prerequisite for unity and common action of labor with all other forces, irrespective of class or political party, who are fighting supporters of our Commander-in-Chief and the common policies of the Teheran Conference for winning the war and ensuring the peace.

To guarantee the success of this recruiting campaign, and, more important, to guarantee a broader and more effective collaboration of our party with other forces and to enhance all of our work, it is necessary that the preparations for the campaign shall include the equipping of our members and supporters to wage not only a political but an ideological campaign against all distortion of party policy.

We must recognize that while the Hitler-Goebbels slander that American Communists are "foreign agents" has been dealt shattering blows, there still continues considerable confusion on the question. Some people base their friendliness to the American Communist Party on the great victories of the Red Army and the invincibility of Soviet Power. While we join in this admiration and recognize that "As in the years of peaceful construction so in the days of war the leading and guiding force of the Soviet people has been the Party of Lenin, the Party of Bolsheviks" (Stalin), nevertheless, those who give their present-day support to our party on this basis are adopting an inverted form of "foreign agent" charge, despite their good intentions.

We should elaborate convincingly, with the abundance of facts available, on the American origin, roots and aims of our party and its undivided devotion to the problems and interests of the American people and nation. The members and leaders who first constituted the

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Communist Party were from the existing Socialist Party, A.F. of L., I.W.W., and Socialist Labor Party, with long years of history woven in the fabric of our country. The Preamble to the Party Constitution further emphasizes the purposes, when it declares:

"The Communist Party of the United States of America is a working class political party carrying forward today the traditions of Jefferson, Paine, Jackson, and Lincoln, and of the Declaration of Independence; it upholds the achievements of democracy, the right of 'life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness,' and defends the United States Constitution against its reactionary enemies who would destroy democracy and all popular liberties; it is devoted to defense of the immediate interests of workers, farmers, and all toilers against capitalist exploitation, and to preparation of the working class for its historic mission to unite and lead the American people to extend these democratic principles to their necessary and logical conclusion."

How did the Goebbels - Dies agents in the U.S.A. try to substantiate their vile slander of American Communists as "foreign agents"? The following is a partial summary of their "evidence":

A. *"The C.P. believed in internationalism"* — To this charge we plead guilty. Precisely because of our sound Americanism—and in the true spirit of Jefferson, Lincoln and of present-day America — we have always concerned ourselves with internationalism. It was Lincoln in 1864 who declared:

"The strongest bond of human sympathy, outside of the family relationship, should be one uniting all working people, of all nations and tongues and kindreds."

Until 1938 the C.P.U.S.A. was fraternally affiliated with the Communist International. This international affiliation was in accord with the same practices that led the A.F. of L. to be affiliated with the International Federation of Trade Unions, the Socialist Party to the Socialist International, not to speak of religious and fraternal international affiliations. While the Communist International is now liquidated, having fulfilled its historic functions, *Joseph Stalin*, commenting on its dissolution, hit the Goebbels-Dies slander, when he declared:

"The dissolution of the Communist International is proper because: (A) it exposes the lie of the Hitlerites to the effect that 'Moscow' allegedly intends to intervene in the life of other nations and to 'Bolshevise' them. An end is now being put to this lie. . . ."

However, we should make clear what American Communists today have in common with Communists of other lands, namely:

(1) Patriotic devotion to our country and people and subordination of everything to victory over fascism and the Axis;

(2) Uncompromising s t r u g g l e against fascism and reaction whereeevr they raise their heads;

(3) Forefront position in the struggle concerned with the vital interests of the workers and the common people and collaborating

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with them and other organizations in defending these interests which are the nation's interests;

(4) Self-sacrifice and exemplary courage, valor and initiative in the common struggle to destroy fascism and to achieve a better and happier post-war world.

B. *"The Communist Party believes in 'force and violence' and was not a believer in the Constitution."*—This was the typical Hitler technique that our nation has now learned to hate, of repeating "big lies." The Communist Party declares:

"Party members found to be strike-breakers, degenerates, habitual drunkards, betrayers of party confidence, provocateurs, persons who practice or advocate terrorism, sabotage, espionage, and force and violence, or members whose actions are otherwise detrimental to the party and the working class, shall be summarily dismissed from positions of responsibility, expelled from the party and exposed before the general public." (Art. IX, Sec. 5).

The U.S. Supreme Court, in the Schneiderman case, commented as follows:

"The 1938 Constitution of the C.P.U.S.A. which petitioner . . . asserted enunciated the principles of the party as he understood them from the beginning of his membership, ostensibly eschews resort to force and violence as an element of party tactics. A tenable conclusion from the foregoing is that the party in 1927 desired to achieve its purpose by peaceful and democratic means. . . ."

C. *"The Communist Party is a believer in a 'foreign ideology,' Marxism-Leninism."*—To the politically uninitiated, this argument might have a temporary effect. As the true meaning of Marxism-Leninism unfolds itself in the contributions of each Communist Party to its own country, the hollowness of the charge becomes manifest. Marxism-Leninism represents the accumulated and proved knowledge of the working class of the world, including America, and its political parties and theoreticians.

Marxist-Leninist theory enables one to understand events, foresee their course, and help influence and determine the direction of events. Marxist-Leninist science, which has guided the thinking of the American Communist Party, has enabled it to make the distinct contributions to the welfare of our own country which are commonly recognized by growing numbers of Americans.

Answering the question "What Is the Communist Party?" Comrade Browder has recently explained as follows:

"Our party is something more than just another organization. It has many features similar to those of other organizations, but it is a special kind of organization. It is this first of all because, as a Marxist party of the working class, its policies are based on science and are the product of science. It is this because it strives to free the material and intellectual forces of production from all obstacles to their unlimited development in the service of mankind, because it strives to keep the path of progress open and

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as such, is the champion and transmitter of all that is best and enduring in human culture, thought and knowledge. . . .

"As a political party which is concerned with grasping and solving the main problems of how to live on this earth, our party fights for the social, political and economic prerequisites for scientific and cultural progress for all mankind."*

In common with Communists of other lands, we strive to understand and develop, according to the specific conditions of our people and country, the science of Marxism-Leninism and we have a conviction that socialism provides ultimately the best form of society.

We have long emphasized that the slander of "foreign agent" and "orders from Moscow" were the chief ideological instruments of Hitler and his agents or dupes in America, and that its refutation was the concern not only of the Communists, but of the entire democratic win-the-war camp. Great strides forward have been made in this respect, but there are still powerful forces in America trying to make use of the slander to prevent all-inclusive unity of the democratic win-the-war forces. The party recruiting campaign will be more effective to the extent that complete clarity is achieved on this question.

* * *

After political and ideological clarity has been established, the success of the recruiting campaign will depend upon effective organization of the party.

A decisive thing in the organizational preparations of the campaign is to release the maximum initiative in thinking out new methods and forms of recruiting that will not be bound or limited by old methods of work. All of us are contributing toward finding the most effective new organizational forms for the new type of Communist organization we are determined to build.

We propose a three-fold approach to achieve 25,000 new members:

1. To involve every member (with the branches vying with one another on the involvement of membership percentage) in recruiting others, whether through contacts in shops, unions, fraternal organizations, churches, committees, etc. *Every member, whether attending branch meetings or not, should have his own objective in the campaign as should every branch.*

2. As an integral part of the campaign, 300 new branches shall be organized, both in cities and towns where the party already exists and in new ones.

3. The policy of concentration shall be followed with reference to specific industries and localities.

We consider the plan of organizing new branches in territories adjacent to existing branches, by selected groups of members of the old branch as one of the new and important features of this campaign. In large branches, one to four groups of about five members each should be given an assignment to build a new branch through recruit-

* Earl Browder, *A Talk About the Communist Party*, Workers Library Publishers, 1943, pp. 15, 16.

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ing a minimum of twenty-five new members, in the territory agreed upon. The work of such groups shall continue week after week until sufficient members are recruited to organize the branch. The new members will feel the branch is theirs (they will not just get "lost" in a previously established large branch), will elect their own officers and executives, plan their own work, adopt their own methods of work and leadership, and in some cases before the campaign is over their new branch will also be recruiting new members. The original large branch will continue recruiting with the balance of its members and in this way the total members involved in recruiting will also be larger. While this is the main feature of the organizing of new branches, section and district committees shall also give attention to the many towns that have become industrialized and where there is an urgent need of a functioning party branch.

The ability of the community branches — all members including the trade unionists formerly in shop and industrial branches — to have mastered the art of being an effective political force in the community will be tested in the recruiting campaign.

Some may say that our dissolution of shop and industrial branches was a departure from Leninist organizational principles insofar as Communists throughout the world have always emphasized the importance of shop branches. But this would be to understand Marxism-Leninism as a dogma or collection of formulae. The very essence of the constant process of change in Marxism-Leninsm is to recognize the development of society.

A real understanding of Marxist-Leninist theory means learning its *substance* and learning to use it as a guide in the solution of the practical problems that arise under the specific conditions of each country and epoch.

The substance of this specific feature of Leninist organizational principles is that the party, already equipped with correct policies and perspectives, constantly maintains and strengthens the maximum contact with the working class, teaches as well as learns from the workers, is thus able to win broad support from the workers, and simultaneously becomes a real mass party of the people.

The exclusive form of community branch, under present-day conditions in our country, does not lessen our contact with the masses of the workers and other people. On the contrary, it makes it possible politically to clarify and mobilize our members on all urgent questions confronting the labor movement and nation; to become active wherever they are in contact with workers, including shops, local unions, and communities. Under present-day conditions, the community branch provides the most effective organizational form to function as an American political organization influencing, inspiring and mobilizing broad sections of the people in the nation's victory drive. The dissolution of the shop and industrial branch removed an outworn organi-

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zational form, which threatened to create artificial barriers between Communists and non-Communists in the trade unions and thus weaken the struggle for maximum unity and threaten the closest and broadest relationship between our party and the masses.

With this understanding, the Communist branches—including the 300 new branches to be organized as part of the campaign with a leadership inclusive of members active in trade unions and other mass organizations, and with functioning executives and labor and membership sub-committees, must now carry to success the recruiting campaign for 25,000 new members, in the period from February 12 to May 1.

As a party of the American workers, at a time when labor's responsibility to the nation in winning the war and ensuring the peace is greater than ever before—when maximum unity based on working-class consciousness of all workers is imperative to make the major contribution to the nation—the Communist Party in this recruiting campaign must strengthen still further its working-class base, especially in decisive industries and communities.

Each district shall work out its own concentration emphasis within the general plan of the campaign. First consideration shall be given to recruiting among workers in the auto-aircraft, electrical, radio, steel, maritime, and machine building industries. In such districts as Pennsylvania and West Virginia, it is clear that the coal mining industry will also be an important concentration effort, as will be the packing industry in Chicago, Nebraska and St. Louis, and shipbuilding in all port cities. In these industries, large numbers of new members should be recruited, including Negro workers and especially women workers. Among the active workers in these industries ready to be recruited will not only be active unionists but trade union leaders. The growing influx of young workers, especially women, into industry, as well as the dissolution of the Young Communist League, makes it possible to recruit several thousands of Communist-minded youth into the party, since there is no longer any Communist youth organization in existence. The tremendous changes among the Negro people and the growing consciousness, activity and common struggle for full and equal participation in every phase of war activity, open up unlimited possibilities for recruiting among the Negro people, especially the Negro workers.

The campaign being conducted on the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the *Daily Worker* for substantial increases in circulation of both the *Daily Worker* and the *Worker,* is not only of concern to the purposes of these newspapers, but will lay solid foundations for the party recruiting campaign.

The fact that in January we commemorate the twentieth anniversary of the death of Lenin gives added weight and meaning to the observance of the twentieth anniversary of the *Daily Worker,* for Lenin left as a great heritage the realization of the fundamental necessity of a daily newspaper to represent and

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fight for the present and ultimate interests of the working class.

Given the political and organizational activity set in motion by the objectives and plans for the twentieth anniversary celebrations, we have a signal opportunity to arouse the entire party membership to new heights of enthusiasm and understanding of the meaning of this anniversary, to obtain the broadest participation of the party membership in the circulation efforts of the *Daily Worker* and the *Worker*. We have also the best possibilities, in the course of the anniversary activities, to extend the circulation within the labor movement. It devolves on every party organization to seize hold of this opportunity and derive the maximum possible results.

This can and must be the year of victory in the war against Hitler. National unity assumes still greater importance. The nation must be aroused to smash the defeatists, who today, through the voices of Landon, Taft and Wheeler and with the support of the Rankins, Byrds and Dieses, are already opposing the epochal conferences of Moscow and Teheran and their demonstration of unity of purpose and action for winning the war and ensuring the peace. Labor and the people must prepare *now* for the fateful election year of 1944, in the center of which is winning the support of the nation for the unconditional surrender of Hitler Germany and the smashing of fascism everywhere.

This year has seen the further strengthening and political growth of the great American labor movement and its active participation in the recent elections. The excellent response of the people, especially of labor and the Negro people, to the Communist candidates throughout the country (Cleveland, San Francisco, Boston, Detroit, Canton), and the election of two Communists to the New York City Council, demonstrate the growing understanding of the role and contributions of our party to the nation and its urgent war tasks, on both the military and home fronts. Our party is proud of its more than 8,000 members—or 18 per cent of our male membership—who have been granted temporary leaves of absence, to contribute their maximum to the nation in its armed forces.

Let not only the active cadres—but *every* member, whether attending meetings or not—be convinced to contribute actively to the next big and urgent task of the party—the recruiting of 25,000 new American Communists in the interests of our people and of our nation.

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THE BATTLE OVER SUBSIDIES

BY MAC GORDON

WHEN Texas Congressman Wright Patman charged that the Republicans were trying to outlaw the Administration subsidy program in order to throw the nation's war economy into chaos, he hit the nail squarely on the head.

The central fact concerning the Congressional effort to ban subsidies, which has received almost solid Republican support, is that it is a political drive. For the defeatists, the subsidy issue represents an opportunity to hit the nation's war-time economy in a vital spot. By defeating the Administration program, they can bring on inflation and create a situation in which class conflicts would be inevitable.

Politically, the elimination of subsidies is designed to weaken the position of the Administration among the people, to isolate the Administration from the labor movement, and, in turn, the labor movement from other sections of the population.

Patman was joined by C.I.O. President Philip Murray in denouncing the Republican position as political maneuvering for 1944. Murray also projected the issue into the 1944 election campaign by warning the Republicans, in effect, that their attempt to play politics with the subsidy program would prove to be a boomerang in that they would be labeled as the party of inflation.

Of course, by no means all those who oppose the subsidy program are defeatists. Most Republicans follow the defeatist Republican leadership on the question primarily from the point of view of partisan politics. They accept the premise, which obviously has an anti-war inspiration, that creating chaos in our nation's economic life will weaken the President's position in the 1944 elections.

In addition to the Republican forces, opposition to subsidies arose from those who speak for profit-seeking groups interested primarily in removing war-time controls on prices and for large corporate farm interests which object to subsidizing increased production by small farms. These large corporate farms once advanced a program that calls for the elimination of the three million farm units at the bottom of the scale in order to furnish manpower for their own production. Naturally, they fight a program that makes it possible for small farms not only to maintain themselves but to expand production.

While there are Republicans who doubtless speak for the corporate

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farm interests and profit-seeking groups, the chief spokesmen for these groups are the poll tax Democratic Congressmen. These poll taxers are either themselves associated with the large plantation and cattle growers, or are their spokesmen in Congress.

The Anti-Subsidy Line-Up

The specific occasion for the introduction of the subsidy prohibition was the measure to extend the Commodity Credit Corporation beyond January 1, and to provide it with funds to continue its work. The Commodity Credit Corporation is the agency through which the Government administers its subsidy program. Last summer, the same groups in Congress waged a similar struggle to ban subsidies in the measure extending the Commodity Credit Corporation beyond the fiscal year terminating June 30. The President vetoed this subsidy prohibition measure, and in the ensuing battle on the issue of upholding or overriding his veto, a compromise was reached, extending the program to the end of the year.

This time, the anti-subsidy camp again introduced the anti-subsidy provision into the Commodity Credit Corporation's extension bill. The bill was passed in that form by the House of Representatives. The vote was 278 to 117. On a clear-cut amendment to eliminate the subsidy ban from the Commodity Credit Corporation bill, the vote was 173 to 102. On final passage of the anti-subsidy bill, the party line-up was 178 Republicans for, 15 against; 98 Democrats for, 100 against, with the minority party members split two and two.

The popular opposition that arose after the House passed the subsidy ban, however, stalled it in the Senate Banking and Currency Committee. Congress then agreed to an extension of the current program until February 17. That means the issue will be picked up again in the Senate as soon as Congress reconvenes on January 10.

Passage of the Commodity Credit Corporation bill with the ban included would mean the immediate elimination of the current nine hundred million dollar subsidy program on milk, bread, meat, butter and various feed crops.

The seeds of the anti-subsidy drive were sown at a now famous meeting of the Resolutions Committee of the National Association of Manufacturers, held in September, 1942, at which Lammot du Pont remarked that the Government and other "squawkers" should be treated "like buyers in a seller's market." du Pont was then, and is now, a key figure in the N.A.M. His remark amounted to a statement of the real aims of the dominant group within the N.A.M. in relation to the Administration's price control program which, at that particular time, was being fought out in Congress.

The Price Control Act as passed decreed that price ceilings to the farmers were to be set at no lower than parity* or at the highest figure

* Parity price is that price for a particular agricultural product, technically determined by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, which bears the same relationship to industrial prices that existed during the period 1909-14.

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between January and September of 1942, whichever was higher. Prices to the consumer were to be stabilized at the September 1942 level. Since farm prices could rise above the September 1942 level if that level was below parity, or below the highest figure between January and September, it is obvious that a subsidy program was necessary if prices to the consumer were to be kept at the September level. No subsidy was specified at the time and prices to the consumer did rise above the September '42 level.

In January, 1943, the leaders of the four national farm organizations that had conducted the drive against the Administration's price control measure in September met in Washington to map out their program for the year. The four organizations involved are the Farm Bureau Federation, the National Grange, the National Council of Farmer Cooperatives, and the National Cooperative Milk Producers Federation. The leaders of these bodies comprise the "farm" lobby which has dictated most farm and price policies to the notorious Congressional "farm" bloc.

At this meeting, however, the leaders of these farm groups were not alone. The meeting was the occasion for unifying the Republican defeatist forces, and indirectly the N.A.M. leadership, with this farm lobby.

Present at the week-long conference which mapped the 1943 Congressional program of the lobby was Frank E. Gannett, former vice chairman of the Republican National Committee, head of the Committee for Constitutional Government which is mentioned prominently in John Roy Carlson's *Under Cover* as one of the subversive, fascist outfits in America, and business associate of Thomas J. Hargraves, regional vice president of the N.A.M. Hargraves is a member of the Board of Directors of the Gannett Publishing Company in Rochester, N. Y., which publishes a number of papers in rural areas in New York and elsewhere.

Gannett not only attended this conference but has been very closely connected with leaders of the farm lobby, both before and since the conference. He is chairman of the Board of Directors of *The American Agriculturist*, arch-reactionary New York farm paper of the farm lobby, of which H. E. Babcock, one of the leading brain trusters of the farm lobby and its chief figure in New York State, is a co-owner and columnist. Babcock was, until recently, President of the National Council of Farm Cooperatives. He voluntarily stepped down to the vice presidency of that organization in order to serve as chairman of Governor Dewey's special emergency farm commission. He is chairman of the Board of Directors of Cornell University, which contains New York State's agricultural college. Chairman of the executive committee of that board is Frank E. Gannett.

Gannett has circulated very widely among the farmers frequent tracts, prepared by economists associated with the N.A.M., attacking the Government's farm price and wage and subsidy programs. These tracts

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have served as source material for the farm lobby leaders in their speeches and statements, and in their general agitational material among farmers.

In speeches by farm lobby leaders, particularly those of Edward O'Neal of the Farm Bureau, and Albert Goss of the National Grange, it was made clear that their fight against subsidies was primarily a struggle to eliminate the entire price control program of the Administration. They placed themselves on record officially to that effect in their testimony before the Senate Banking and Currency Committee on the subsidy issue. Thus, the policy laid down by Lammot du Pont at the N.A.M. meeting of September, 1942, is being fought for by these farm lobby leaders. It is noteworthy that they are the only significant group that has dared publicly to admit that the fight against subsidies is in reality a fight against the whole price control structure which forms the backbone of wartime economic stabilization.

It is not hard to see why the N.A.M. has been able to recruit the leading spokesmen for its program in the agricultural field. Of the five national farm organizations only the Farmers Union is not controlled by the monopoly food and corporate farm interests. The other four organizations have a long history of struggle against the interests of the family-size farmer. Thus, the mass of small farmers lack the instrument through which their patriotic support of the Administration's war policies can be clarified or expressed.

The National Farmers Union has its strength primarily in a few middle western states. It is noteworthy that in those states all polls taken among the farmers indicate a strong rural sentiment in favor of the subsidy program. Elsewhere, the Gannett and farm lobby agitation has had virtually a free field in deceiving the farmers as to the essence of the Administration.

There are signs, however, that the lobby is not having things its own way even in the organizations it controls. Thus, the New Jersey State Grange, with a membership of 20,000, turned down an anti-subsidy resolution at its convention, after the Grange National Convention had passed one. Some county organizations of the Farm Bureau have refused to accept the anti-subsidy position of the leadership.

The central argument of the farm lobby agitation against subsidies is that the working class is rolling in wealth and is well able to pay higher prices for food. A necessary accompaniment of this argument is an amazingly distorted picture of how the working class is living under war conditions. Workers are pictured as buying huge amounts of jewelry, drinking champagne—in short, as the well-known profiteers in cartoons. As a matter of fact, in his testimony before the Senate Banking and Currency Committee, Albert Goss stated that the real war profiteers were the workers!

Obviously, this anti-labor drive has not merely the effect of rousing farmers against subsidies. It also has the effect, and it is its intent,

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of creating bitter hatred on the part of the farmer toward the working class. It is a drive against national unity, and for the isolation of labor politically.

The fallacy of the argument regarding labor's supposed ability to pay higher prices is, of course, quite clear. *In the first place, a majority of the working class is today in a worse position economically than it was before the war,* and cannot pay higher food prices. (A recent OPA report shows, for instance, that real weekly earnings of workers in non-manufacturing industries,* comprising 70 per cent of the working class, fell 3 per cent from January, 1941 to March, 1943, while real hourly earnings fell 9 per cent). In the second place, it is not only workers who are hit when prices go up; all other sections of the population, including the farmers, have to pay out more.

The chief fallacy, however, is that it negates wartime economic stabilization. Under a stabilization program, food price increases necessarily result in higher wages, and labor would properly insist on this. This would drive up the price of farm labor and of the manufactured articles the farmer buys. The farmer would then demand higher prices, and we would have the inevitable inflationary spiral. In the words of Stabilization Director Byrnes, there "can be no such thing as 'controlled inflation.'"

* Non-manufacturing industries include mining, construction, transportation and public utilities, trade, government, finance, service and miscellaneous. Farm workers are not included in the O.P.A. report.

The Purpose of the Food Subsidy Program

The food subsidy issue became prominent when the Administration announced a 500 million dollar subsidy last spring, in order to make effective the price rollback promised by the President in his April 9 hold-the-line order. At that time, prices had advanced from 6 per cent to 7 per cent beyond the September, 1942, level, at which they were supposed to have been stabilized. Labor was demanding an increase in wages to meet this increase in the cost of living, since its wages had been held at the September, 1942, level under the Little Steel formula. In his April 9 order, the President proposed, instead of an increase in wages, a rollback in prices.

Since farm prices had, however, advanced beyond September, 1942, levels, clearly prices to the consumer could not be rolled back unless there was either a rollback in prices to the farmer or a subsidy. Neither the Administration nor labor wanted to roll back prices received by the farmer. Both were sympathetic to the needs of the farmer for higher prices, especially from the standpoint of increased production.

Following the announcement of the rollback subsidy program, the War Food Administration made public a plan of minimum, or support, prices to be guaranteed to the farmer for production of particular essential crops. This was necessary in order to get badly-needed agricultural expansion and conversion from less essential to more essential food production. Under chaotic

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or uncertain market conditions, farmers could not be induced to, or could not afford to, expand or convert.

But this system of support prices could be introduced only if prices to the consumer were raised or if a comprehensive subsidy program were developed.

There was a third possibility, the revamping of the food distribution apparatus of the nation. While this apparatus undoubtedly had expanded during the course of the war and was appropriating to itself a disproportionate amount of the price of the product, its revamping would be too revolutionary an effort to undertake effectively in this wartime emergency. Therefore, the one practical alternative left to the Administration, if it was to save its stabilization program, was the subsidies program and this was gradually introduced.

Subsidies are applied in a number of different ways. First, there is the direct method of application, whereby the subsidy is paid to the producer, as in milk. This is unquestionably the most satisfactory method and farm organizations that support the subsidy program have urged the Administration to adopt that method everywhere. The way it works is simply by having the producer submit his monthly milk receipts to the county extension agent, who pays him the subsidy for each hundredweight of milk. The amount varies in different areas.

A second method, used widely in England and Canada where the subsidy program has actually stabilized the cost of living, is the purchase and resale method. Here the government purchases from the producer or at any stage in the distribution process the whole amount of the food product and resells it to the next stage in the distribution process at a loss. This loss represents a subsidy.

A third method, used on some products, is the subsidizing of distributors at a particular stage in the distribution process. This method is unsatisfactory because there is no guarantee that the subsidy will reach the producer, and even if it does, the producer is not aware that he is receiving a government subsidy. He is, therefore, under the impression that the Federal Government is subsidizing the large food dealers, apparently at his expense. This tends to increase hostility among the farmers toward the subsidy program.

Efforts are being made by foes, and even some "friends," of the subsidy program to distinguish between so-called producer and consumer subsidies. They claim that while a "producer subsidy" is justified, since it increases food production, there is no justification for a "consumer, or rollback, subsidy." Actually, however, as the President said in his subsidy message to Congress, there is no such thing as a producer and consumer subsidy; there is only a "war subsidy," necessary both for increasing production and for stabilizing the price structure irrespective of how it is paid. Both the subsidies which had their original inspiration in the drive to rollback prices and those that arose

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from W.F.A. support price plans are exactly the same in purpose—to increase production and keep consumer prices from rising.

The subsidy program has one other vital purpose. It is a form of control over planning by the Administration of food production. Without this measure of control, there would be no way in which the Government could direct, even to the limited extent that it does by means of subsidies, the production of the particular types of crops necessary for war purposes, as well as the stimulation of crop production. This feature of the subsidy program has, of course, also aroused the wrath of the anti-Administration forces, to whom wartime planning is "bureaucracy and regimentation."

The Effects of Banning Subsidies

The failure of Congress to act affirmatively on the subsidy program has already had serious consequences in the field of farm production. The War Food Administration has been unable to announce support prices for 1944 crops, since these prices depend upon subsidies. The result has been an inability to plan food goals. The W.F.A. has warned that, unless there is quick action on behalf of the program it may be too late to expand food production this year. Uncertainty with regard to prices will prevent many farmers from expanding their production facilities or converting to unfamiliar essential crops.

Insofar as prices are concerned, O.P.A. Director Chester Bowles has warned that the effect of the removal of subsidies would be a 10 per cent increase in the cost of living. This would amount to nine billion dollars added to the amount spent by consumers annually. It would also mean nine billion dollars more which the Government would have to spend for the war materials it buys.

This, of course, does not represent the immediate savings effected by the subsidy program. Stabilization Director James F. Byrnes has estimated that the immediate rise in food costs would amount to about 10 per cent, or about 3 per cent in the cost of living. However, the cost of living is now about 6 to 7 per cent above the September, 1942, levels, and the trade union movement is pressing for an increase in wages in order to bring wages in line with the cost of living. A 3 per cent living cost rise would inevitably result in greater pressure by the labor movement to bring wages up further. This, in turn, would compel a rise in prices of other commodities. It was this that Chester Bowles had in mind when he warned of a 10 per cent over-all increase in the cost of living as a result of the subsidy prohibition.

Ultimately, the ban on subsidies would lead to inflation, since the condition of the subsidy ban, as laid down in the measure before Congress, is that price increases to the farmer must be met by higher prices to the consumer, and, since the farmer would have to get higher prices for his product if wages and prices of manufactured goods went up, we would have the inevitable spiral.

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Opponents of the subsidy program argue that subsidies are inflationary, because they save consumers money, and therefore, increase spending power. If, however, they save consumers money, it is only because they keep prices under control. As long as prices are kept under control, there is no inflation. The argument is, therefore, patently ridiculous. It is tantamount to saying that increased prices are non-inflationary, because they take money away from the consumer.

It is true that when prices are kept under control for certain items, there is more money to spend for uncontrolled products, and their prices tend to go up. The answer is, obviously, not to lift the lid off controlled prices but to bring all necessities under control. If that leaves extra money in the pockets of those who live in luxury, thereby forcing prices of luxury products up, there is not much danger to the war economy.

Underlying the argument that subsidies are inflationary is the implied demand that prices be allowed to rise to the maximum point possible, that workers be permitted to have nothing left for savings or for any other purpose, since that threatens inflation. The logic of this is to threaten not only price control, but rationing as well. If prices are to go to the highest possible point, the products will naturally go where there is the most money. This actually happened before price control and rationing were introduced. The result would be widespread dislocation in food and clothing supplies.

Opponents of the program also argue that subsidies are simply taking money from one pocket and putting it into another, because consumers will have to make up what they save in prices by additional taxes. This argument, too, is absurd—in the first place, because the Federal Government buys 55 per cent of everything produced, and increased prices would hit the Government harder than it would any other consumer. The Government would have to spend for the goods it buys considerably more than the cost of the subsidy. In addition, it would be compelled to pay increased salaries of Government employees if the cost of living should go up, and probably to jack up allotments to the families of men in the armed services. The over-all cost of the subsidy ban, insofar as the Federal treasury is concerned, would thus far exceed that of any conceivable subsidy program which the Administration would put into effect.

One other factor that should be noted regarding the cost of the ban on subsidies is the effect on city and state finances. Local governments also buy considerable food and other materials for the various institutions they support. A rise in prices would hit them quite hard. They, too, would be compelled to adjust wages upward, in case of additional increases in the cost of living. This factor makes it possible for the labor movement to approach and get the support of certain sections of the population which it often does not reach, such as the taxpayers and real estate organizations, who are anxious to keep the local budget as low as possible.

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It is the political consequences of the ban on subsidies in which its opponents are chiefly interested. The increase of food prices followed by the demands of labor for increased wages would result in class tensions in the factories and, the anti-subsidy crowd hopes, would bring about a clash between the labor movement and the Administration. Moreover, as the New York *Times* and other organs unfriendly to the subsidy program have indicated, price increases would be blamed on the organized labor movement in order to drive a wedge between organized labor and the middle class and white collar groups. The demands of labor for an increased wage would also result in further agitation among the farmers against the working class. The subsidy ban would, therefore, serve as a weapon in attempting to isolate the working class politically.

Conversely, the fight for the subsidy program provides a basis for labor's cooperation with other sections of the population. The very support which labor is giving to the subsidy program is an indication of working class friendship toward the farmer. While the so-called farm leaders have constantly attacked the alleged higher wages received by labor, the labor movement has never in any way opposed higher income to the farmers because it recognizes that the farmer needs higher income in order to expand production. It has insisted upon the subsidy as the specific method for stabilizing consumer prices precisely in order to protect farm income.

Vice President Henry A. Wallace has on a number of occasions called the attention of the farmers to this attitude of labor. Unfortunately, few others, including leaders of the labor movement, have done so. The subsidy issue as a weapon in cementing farmer-labor relations because it meets the mutual needs of both classes has not been widely used by the labor movement to that end.

The issue also provides a basis for unity of labor and white collar sections of the population. The white collar workers have been especially hard hit by the increases in the cost of living, since it is a good deal more difficult for them to get wage increases. Therefore, they are especially interested in seeing that prices are stabilized. Here, too, the labor movement has not been sufficiently alert in winning their support for its fight to retain the subsidy program.

It must be noted that the fight for subsidies is only one aspect of the fight for a complete stabilization program. Side by side with that struggle there must be a fight also for the other aspects of the anti-inflation program. Wages have to be adusted to the present price level, and profits have to be limited through a proper tax program. The current tax measure being debated in Congress at this writing is not an anti-inflation measure by any means. It permits corporations close to five billion dollars more profits, after taxes are deducted, than they earned in 1939, and it does not touch huge individual incomes derived from war profits.

Recent "compromise" proposals with regard to the subsidy program have included one which would tie

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wages to the Little Steel formula if subsidies were granted. Actually, there is no basis for such a proposal. Labor is pressing for revision of the Little Steel formula to bring prices into line with current increased living costs. Moreover, the assumption is that increased wages, like increased prices, means inflation. The argument is that wage rises bring added pressure for inflation since they increase consuming power and that they increase production costs, thereby increasing prices.

Actually, higher wages will not bring inflation as long as there is strictly-enforced price control and rationing. If these factors exist, then higher consuming power cannot cause increased prices. There is no added consumer pressure if there is a proper rationing system and if black markets are wiped out through effective policing and stringent penalties.

As regards higher production costs, where wages are tied to production, production costs go down, not up. Also, because of the immense profits made by most corporations, it is possible to raise wages by taking increases out of profits, and not by raising prices.

A second, and more dangerous, "compromise" is the so-called Taft amendment, introduced by the Hooverite leader, Senator Robert A. Taft. This makes the false distinction between "roll-back" and "production" subsidies, and proposes to eliminate the former. The immediate effect would be to raise prices on a number of necessities, thereby breaking through established price levels. The Taft proposal would reduce the Administration request for a $1,500,000,000 program to $600,000,000. It would close the door to the extension of the subsidy program.

Tasks in the Subsidy Fight

Labor was late in entering the current fight to save the Administration subsidy program, though as a result of convention action both A. F. of L. and C.I.O. were on record as favoring subsidies. It was not until the House of Representatives was actually preparing to take the vote on the C.C.C. measure, however, that the A. F. of L. and Railroad Brotherhoods spoke up in opposition to the measure. The C.I.O. had entered the fight some days earlier. But it also had not fully mobilized its forces by the time the House vote was taken.

At its November convention the C.I.O. resolved to support all measures which would aid the farmers to increase food production. It went on record in favor of subsidies, including a broader price support program, guaranteeing the farmers the increased real income that would come from greater production, as against the inflationists' program which calls for increased prices to the consumer.

Most of the increased prices paid by the consumer would not reach the farmer, but would be absorbed by the monopoly food interests. In other words, the issue, as seen by the C.I.O., is whether there is to be a subsidy program to guarantee the farmer a decent price, or whether the nation must pay out billions in higher prices, only a slight trickle

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of which would get to the farmer.

The Administration forces, both in the House and in the various agencies, conducted an exceedingly weak fight against the foes of the program. Before the fight had well been under way, War Food Administrator Marvin Jones, and Stabilization Director Byrnes were talking compromise. The House leadership failed to rally and unite the Administration forces in Congress for the fight. No steps were taken to appeal to the public until after the measure had passed the House.

Labor's fight, though late in getting started, developed considerably following the House vote. This was especially true of the C.I.O. Other sections of the population, notably the National Farmers Union, many independent farm cooperatives, and various consumer groups, began to speak up. This somewhat heartened the Administration, and its spokesmen urged the Senate Banking and Currency Committee to save the program. Here, too, the Administration program was weakened, however, by too great a readiness to compromise.

The high point in the save-the-subsidy campaign was reached on December 9 when 400 representatives of labor, farmer, consumer, white collar and veterans' groups met in a powerful peoples' lobby at the call of the Congressional Committee for Protection of Consumers, which was formed in the heat of the subsidy fight last summer. Representatives came from large A. F. of L. bodies, from major C.I.O. international unions, from Farmers Union and local independent farm groups, from the Veterans of Foreign Wars and the Disabled American Veterans. The latter two groups reflected the concern of pensioners in the fight to control prices.

A prominent part in the fight for the subsidy program has been played by women's organizations and consumer groups which are composed largely of women. The National Council of Negro Women, the League of Women Voters, the American Association of University Women, the women's groups of the International Workers Order, A. F. of L. and C.I.O. women's auxiliaries, and such bodies as the New York City Consumers Council have all participated quite actively in the struggle.

The pressure of the labor movement and other sections of the population has had its effect. It has slowed the drive of the opponents of the subsidy program to push it through the Senate, and undoubtedly caused a number to waver. It has strengthened the hand of the President, should he be forced to veto an anti-subsidy ban.

The struggle has also succeeded in focusing public attention on the disruptive role of the Republicans in Congress. If this is followed up in all subsequent Congressional struggles it can be a potent weapon to compel the Republicans to retreat.

Postponement of the drive to ban subsidies is undoubtedly a victory for the people. Full advantage should be taken of it to unite all sections of the population behind labor on behalf of this vital wartime economic measure.

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ON THE NEGROES AND THE RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION

BY EARL BROWDER

I WANT to say a few words about the problem of the self-determination of the Negro people. I think that the theoretical aspects of this question have been adequately presented to you. It has seemed, however, to the members of our Political Committee, that it is necessary for us to bring this question up to date, in its practical political aspects.

It is, of course, known to you that the Negro people, after the Civil War, decided that their future lay in integrating themselves into the American nation as a whole. They expected to achieve this through the Republican Party, but they were sorely disappointed in this expectation. The Republican Party capitalized on the Negro vote by appearing in the historic role of liberator of the slaves. But it betrayed the Negro people after Lincoln's death. The Democratic Party, which had been the historic party of slavery, crushed the aspirations of the Negroes in the South with the connivance of the Republican Party.

In the late 20's and early 30's, it became clear that the whole world was heading toward a major crisis, the greatest of all history. It simultaneously became clear that the question of the future of the Negro people would be up for re-examination. It was in view of the gathering world crisis that we Communists at that time—in the early 30's—raised the issue of self-determination. At that time we necessarily faced the possibility that the Negro people, disappointed in their aspiration for full integration into the American nation, might find their only alternative in separation and in the establishment of their own state in the Black Belt, in the territory in which they are a majority. We raised this as one of the rights of the Negro people, in case the Negro people found this was the only way to satisfy their aspirations.

Now we are in the midst of this world crisis, anticipated in the beginning of the 30's. It has already taken shape, very definitely, to the point that we can foresee the outcome of it and the alignment of forces which determine that outcome. In this world crisis the solution of the question has become clear now, without any manner of

* Excerpts from the remarks of Earl Browder on November 19, 1943, to the final session of the two-weeks full-time morning school on the Negro People and the War, organized by the Workers School, New York.

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doubt. The crisis of history has taken a turn of such character that the Negro people in the United States have found it possible to make their decision once and for all. Their decision is for their complete integration into the American nation as a whole, and not for separation.

This decision has been taking shape for several years. I think it is only comparatively recently that we can say it has taken a definite form, which no foreseeable development could now change. It began when the Democratic Administration, under Roosevelt, began to interest itself particularly in the fate of the Negro people, and when it carried the W.P.A. into the South. This was the beginning of a deep-going change, a shaking up of the whole semi-feudal system of oppression of the Negroes, and the opening up of the vista of a progressive establishment of Negro equality.

After this beginning came the penetration of the South by the C.I.O., and the organization of labor, black and white, in one united labor movement in the very heart of the oppression of the Negroes, the home of the most extreme forms of Jim-Crowism. It was followed by the establishment of the President's Fair Employment Practices Committee.

And as part of this whole development, and the marked growth of unity of action of the Negro people and the progressive labor movement, we witness the drive for the abolition of the poll tax, the major instrument of disfranchisement of Negroes and poor whites in the South.

Then, we should also mention such symptomatic manifestations of this major progressive tendency as the recent elections, when Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., was elected to the New York City Council by a combined vote of Negroes, trade unionists and progressive white people.

We have seen also that the Negro people, despite all mistreatment, which continues and which has been especially severe in the armed forces, have been among the most determined in demanding their place in the war effort. Far from demanding separate military units, they have conducted a fight for the abolition of Jim-Crowism in the army and the joint participation of Negroes and whites in the units of the armed forces.

The decision of the Negro people is, therefore, already made. It is that the Negro people do see the opportunity, not as a pious aspiration for an indefinite future, but as an immediate political task under the present system, of approximating the position of equal citizens in America. This is in itself an exercise of the right of self-determination by the Negro people. By their attitude, the Negro people have exercised their historical right of self-determination.

We have today to establish the guarantees that there will not be a disappointment such as was administered by the Republican Party after the Civil War.

Therefore we see now, sharply and clearly, the right of the Negroes

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as a people to the determination of their own destiny. It is just as much an inviolable right as it ever was; and that right is being exercised today in the form of a decision by the Negro people themselves, without any pressure from special interests, to choose the path of the integration of the Negroes into the whole American nation as one united nation.

It is this choice which gives the possibility in this period of integrating the Negro people into the general democracy of our country, on the basis of complete and unconditional equality, of solving this question now, and of no longer postponing it. The immediate achievement in this period, under the present American system, of complete equality for the Negroes, has been made possible by the war crisis, and by the character of this war as a people's war of national liberation. In the process of solving the greater problem of the whole world, we can and we must find the solution of full and equal citizenship for American Negroes in this country.

I think that we can expect clarity on this question to increase, with the unity of all progressive forces in America. America can expect in the new few years to achieve an approximation of the full aim in this respect.

I won't promise that, ten years from now we shall be able to say of the United States what someone, in one of the panels of the recent Congress of American - Soviet Friendship, said in introducing a prominent speaker—that in the Soviet Union there is no problem of national minorities any more. Perhaps that complete and unconditional achievement is possible only under socialism. But I think we can say that an approximation of that achievement is within our reach today under capitalism, under the existing American system, under the changing relationship of forces, in which labor and the people exert an ever increasing political role and influence.

It is achievable because America, after a long period of flirting with the fascist and Nazi forces of the world, has finally taken the path of unification of all progressive forces in the world for the destruction of fascism. When America confirmed that course, in the Moscow Agreements of a few weeks ago, it decided for a whole period of history the question of the possibility of national unity in the United States. It determined the possibility of eliminating all the gross inequalities as they manifest themselves in the oppression of the Negro people in this country.

All the decisive forces of history are now working for Negro equality, and we Communists must strengthen our collaboration with these progressive forces of which we are a vital part.

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A PERSPECTIVE FOR FORGING NEGRO-WHITE UNITY

BY JOHN PITTMAN

I.

A CONSPICUOUS new aspect of war-time conditions in the United States is the unprecedented growth of unity between Negroes and other Americans that has developed in the past few months. Hundreds of thousands of citizens of all classes, colors and creeds have assembled in hundreds of meetings in scores of cities to prevent a recurrence of the outrages of Los Angeles, Beaumont, Mobile, Chester, Newark, and Detroit. Many attended such meetings for the first time. Many displayed a militancy that called to mind the zeal of the Abolitionists. Inspired by patriotic wrath at the viciousness of the Axis agents who planned and incited these attacks against the wartime anti-fascist unity of the American people, these gatherings in all section of the country — including the South— fashioned strong and durable foundations for the growth and expansion of Negro-white unity.

While in some places, as in San Francisco, the anti-fifth column mobilization antedated the Hitler-inspired attacks on the nation's war effort, in general it gathered momentum after the mob action against Mexican-Americans in Los Angeles. It spurted throughout the country immediately after the outbreak against the Negro population of Detroit. Generally, Negroes took the initiative in mobilizing their communities. But in many instances the mobilization was initiated and led by the labor unons. In others, progressive liberal forces were in the vanguard. In some places, municipal officials called together leaders representing various elements of the population and vested them with powers of investigation and of rallying the people.

The mobilization took form in the creation of "citizens' committees" against discrimination and against fascist fifth-column activity, for anti-fascist unity and for democracy. These committees organized and called meetings. They sought to draw in all sections of their community—businessmen, public officials, trade unionists, artists, professional workers and technicians, farmers, ministers and priests, people of every national group and of all faiths and racial origins. Their meetings heard speakers denounce the Axis and its fifth column, sent

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resolutions to local officials, national representatives and organizations. Many such meetings drew up programs for combating racial discrimination, and for integrating the Negro people into the community. More important, they included plans for stifling the fifth column and safeguarding the country's preparation for the second front.

Thus, meetings of this character occurred in Chicago, Detroit, St. Louis, Baltimore, Hartford, New York, Elizabeth, Cleveland, Seattle, San Francisco, Los Angeles, and many less populous centers of war activity.

In addition, numerous Negro organizations throughout the country acted independently to obtain broad support in their communities. Many national organizations spoke out against the attacks. National magazines and newspapers that had never spoken out militantly before on the subject of Negro rights, overnight became champions of the Negro people. Representative Samuel Dickstein of New York attacked the Dies Committee, the Ku Klux Klan and other native fascist groups in a speech in the House. Representative George H. Bender of Ohio introduced a resolution into the Congress denouncing racial conflict as "a weapon in the hands of the Axis." Delegations of citizens from New York and Detroit visited the White House. President Roosevelt was urged in hundreds of resolutions and telegrams to speak out against the Axis fifth columnists. Hundreds of organizations sent telegrams to Attorney General Francis Biddle demanding investigation and punishment of the Axis agents. All of these reflections of the deep feelings stirring the masses of Americans also indicated the extent of the mobilization of the people, its breadth and rich potential for development along political lines and in the field of labor organization. Among the Negro people, the mobilization made for deeper unity. Church leaders, domestic workers, lawyers, physicians, educators, trade unionists—all members of the Negro communities drew closer in the face of the common danger, thus strengthening the broader popular unity in which representative groups of other Americans were joined.

With such strength, the citizens' committees were able in some cases to move the local and state governments to action.

In answer to the appeals from citizens' committees, trade unions, and Negro and progressive organizations, President Roosevelt addressed to the thirty-third annual conference of the National Urban League, meeting in Chicago in September, a message which said:

"Men of all races, black, brown, white and yellow, fight besides us for freedom. We cannot stand before the world as champion of oppressed peoples unless we practice as we preach, the principles of democracy for all men.

"Racial conflict diminishes war production, cuts down the flow of guns and planes and increases the toll of American lives. Racial strife destroys national unity at home and renders us suspect abroad.

"Ours is a twofold responsibility. All true Americans must be prepared to protect with life itself the

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inalienable rights of all men without regard to race, creed or color. All true Americans must increasingly accept the responsibilities that go with democratic privileges."

Such nation-wide manifestations of the growing unity of the Negro and other peoples of the United States are without precedent in the country's history. The closest parallel was the Abolitionist movement of the pre-Civil War period, when the white workers, farmers and liberals of the North and Northwest joined Negro freedmen and fugitive slaves in the fight to abolish slavery. Then, as now, the American people were in the midst of one of those historical periods of vast change, when history takes a leap forward, sweeping whole peoples into a new phase of struggle. The continued development of this unity is today a precondition for the victory over Hitlerism, while that victory will enable the American people to enter a new era of struggle for the complete elimination of all barriers to unity.

II.

Despite this heartening growth of unity, however, and despite efforts of patriotic citizens of all classes, creeds and colors to prevent recurrence of outbreaks provoked in Mobile, Chester, Los Angeles, Newark and Detroit, the Axis and its American fifth column are preparing new outrages. The organization of insurrection by Hitler's agents and friends is continuing. Of course, not all elements who participate in such activities are direct agents of the Axis. However, the actual agents of Hitler are able to enlist the support of many Americans who are influenced by racial prejudices, and who, despite the fact that they may not be conscious agents of the Axis, aid the fascist fifth column objectively.

In Boston recently, such dupes of the fifth column, as well as directly connected agents of Hitler, with every evidence of organization, beat Jewish men and women, smashed the windows of Jewish stores and plundered and desecrated synagogues. In Los Angeles, a branch of the National Rifle Club, which in Detroit had practiced with guns and ammunition for months prior to the riot and had served as an arsenal for the rioters, fought and defeated a proposal in the city council which would have required all private citizens to register their firearms. Simultaneously, the fifth column launched a Ku Klux Klan membership drive, activated landlord groups to keep Negroes out of war housing, and began an incendiary hate-campaign in the commercial press.

The fifth column forces are extending their activities. Their leaflets, such as were recently planted in Chicago, Detroit and Los Angeles, sow hatred against racial and national minorities and call for the use of violence against Jews, Negroes and Mexican - Americans. Their rumors, repeating themes they used in Beaumont and Detroit, seek to inflame passions and set off anti-Negro conflagrations in Washington, Memphis, Little Rock, Mobile, Savannah, Louisville and other cities. They continue to manufacture

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incidents, to create disturbances, and to organize hoodlum attacks upon individual members and groups of minority peoples.

The continuation of these insurrectionary activities is a grave danger to our country. They occur at a moment when the total effort of the whole American people is required to fulfill the commitments entered into at the recent Hull-Molotov-Eden Foreign Ministers' Conference in Moscow. They occur at a time when the full utilization of all our energies is necessary to shorten the war and to establish guarantees of security against aggression in the postwar world.

At such a moment of great opportunities and great responsibilities, what can be the consequence of these fifth-column attacks on the Negro people, the Jewish people and the Mexican-Americans?

Such attacks can only spill the blood of our citizens on the streets of our war centers, reduce the output of our war industries, demoralize our troops and diminish their efficiency on the fighting fronts, retard the trends toward unity within the labor movement, cheapen our word and hold us up to shame before the peoples of the world. Such fifth-column attacks can only strengthen the forces here in the United States who would, if they held sufficient power, repudiate our agreements with the Soviet Union, Britain and China, cancel the entire Roosevelt program for victory, and undertake to establish fascism here in the course of saving it in Europe and Asia.

Indeed, these attacks on Negroes, Jews and Mexican-Americans are no isolated "racial phenomena," no "spontaneous combustions" resulting from "objective conditions" that cause a "deterioration of relations" between Negroes, Jews, Mexican-Americans, and whites, no consequences of a mystical "tension" entirely divorced from and unrelated to other activities of the fifth column. They are part and parcel of the general Axis strategy for conquering the United States.

In this general plan of strategy, these attacks supplement the obstructionist work of John L. Lewis, of Dubinsky and the reactionary Social-Democrats, of Norman Thomas and the Trotskyites, of the reactionary Woll-Hutcheson cliques of the American Federation of Labor—the work that breeds factionalism, fosters Communist-baiting and divisions, provokes strikes, and spreads dissension against the Soviet Union and Britain. They supplement the conspiracy of the du Pont section of the National Association of Manufacturers, the Hearst-Howard-McCormick-Patterson press, the Hoover-Taft wing of the Republican Party, the Wheeler-Reynolds poll tax bloc of the Democratic Party—the conspiracy to attack the labor unions and the people's living standards, to cancel the production goals and reverse the war plans of the Administration.

Attacks on Negroes also serve certain specific Axis objectives. They have considerable value to the Axis in relation to its plans for the 1944 elections, for the victory of Japanese fascism in the Pacific theater of war, and for the dis-

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ruption of the growing cordial relations between the United States and the peoples of Latin America.

It is already evident that the Republicans have begun to bid for the Negro vote. The *New Republic*, in a recent special supplement on the Negro people, took note of this fact: "The two most clever and aggressive Republican hopefuls, Willkie and Dewey, have been cruising around with hungry eyes on the Negro vote."

In addition, Governor Earl Warren of California, a Hooverite Republican with Presidential aspirations, has also recently appointed a Negro attorney to the state board of probation and parole, who is already busily engaged in corraling Negro votes for the G.O.P. Nor should it be regarded as insignificant that the Republican Governors Taft and Langer, in recently killing the school fund bill that would have provided educational resources for thousands of underprivileged children of the South, did so with the demagogic pretense of fighting against racial discrimination, but aligning themselves with the poll-tax, defeatist Democrats in the vote on the measure.

Hand in glove with this apparently studied policy of making slight concessions to Negroes in an effort to win their support, and of making demagogic statements championing the rights of the Negro people, goes the policy of obstructing all Administration measures designed to speed the Negroes' integration in the war effort. And in the pattern of Republican strategy, the fifth-column attacks on Negroes have a definite place. They seek to arouse discontent among the Negroes and other minorities against the Administration, and thus cynically to use the Negro people as a Republican catspaw against the Roosevelt policies in 1944.

Such attacks also play directly into the hands of the Tojo-Hirohito military-fascist clique of Japan. A result sought by the fifth column, now that the probability of an early defeat of Hitler-Germany facilitated by the Moscow Conference increases the possibility of the Allies beginning large-scale operations against Japan. The fifth-column attacks on Negroes and other minorities serve this objective in much the same way as that other device of the fifth column, the "Japan-First" campaign of agitation so laboriously conducted by Senator "Happy" Chandler and the Hearst-Howard-McCormick-Patterson press. Not only does the Japanese military-fascist clique gain valuable time for consolidating its conquests through the prolongation of Hitler-Germany's life; in addition, that fascist clique turns the American fifth column's insurrectionary activities to direct and immediate account.

It utilizes the consequences of these activities as ammunition for its ideological campaign among the peoples of Asia, as well as to strengthen its own position within Japan. Every incident provoked by the fifth column here against the Negro and Mexican-American people is magnified a hundredfold in the Japanese broadcasts to the Filipinos, Indonesians, Burmese, Malayans, Indians and Chinese. Gen-

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eral Tojo's broadcasters interpret such incidents as substantiation of the military-fascist clique's propaganda that the war is a "race war," and that the troops of Emperor Hirohito are ordained by heaven "to protect" the colored peoples of Asia from the re-establishment of the imperialism of the white man. During the President's Fair Employment Practices Committee's recent Washington hearings on discrimination against Negroes in the railroad industry, Otto D. Tolischus, former *New York Times* correspondent in Tokio, cited some official statements by which the Tokio government both attempted to justify its agression in the light of the fifth-column attacks on Negroes in this country and posed as a champion of "all colored races."

Thus, the American fifth column and its dupes provide the Tojo-Hirohito clique with a ready-made mask behind which it can plunder and enslave the peoples of the Japanese-occupied lands. Recent reports indicate that the Japanese militarists and fascists are using this mask with a certain measure of success.

How these fifth-column attacks disturb the peoples of Latin America was shown by the speech of Senor Francisco Jimenez in the Mexican Chamber of Deputies, after an interview with Governor Coke Stevenson of Texas. The Mexican deputy described to the chamber the "absurdity of economic and social discrimination of Mexicans in Texas by American companies." He lauded the Good Neighbor policy of President Roosevelt, but declared it is violently opposed in some states "by the enemy forces of the New Deal, which are trying to prolong the discrimination of races in order to keep the people divided." The attacks on Mexican-American youth in Los Angeles produced alarm throughout all the countries south of the Rio Grande and brought many expressions of indignation and demands for a curb on the fifth column here.

Thus, the Hitler-inspired activities against the Negroes and other minority peoples, in combination with other parts of the fifth column-defeatist program against American unity and the country's successful prosecution of the war, confront the American people with serious peril.

(To be continued.)

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HISTORIC DOCUMENTS

A DECLARATION OF THE THREE ALLIED POWERS

The text of a declaration on December 1, 1943, by President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill and Premier Stalin:

WE, THE PRESIDENT of the United States of America, the Prime Minister of Great Britain, and the Premier of the Soviet Union, have met in these four days past in this the capital of our ally, Teheran, and have shaped and confirmed our common policy.

We express our determination that our nations shall work together in the war and in the peace that will follow.

As to the war, our military staffs have joined in our round-table discussions and we have concerted our plans for the destruction of the German forces. We have reached complete agreement as to the scope and timing of operations which will be undertaken from the east, west and south. The common understanding which we have here reached guarantees that victory will be ours.

And as to the peace, we are sure that our concord will make it an enduring peace. We recognize fully the supreme responsibility resting upon us and all the nations to make a peace which will command good will from the overwhelming masses of the peoples of the world and banish the scourge and terror of war for many generations.

With our diplomatic advisers we have surveyed the problems of the future. We shall seek the cooperation and active participation of all nations, large and small, whose peoples in heart and in mind are dedicated, as are our own people, to the elimination of tyranny and slavery, oppression and intolerance. We will welcome them as they may choose to come into the world family of democratic nations.

No power on earth can prevent our destroying the German armies by land, their U-boats by sea, and their war plants from the air. Our attacks will be relentless and increasing.

Emerging from these friendly conferences we look with confidence to the day when all the peoples of the world may live free lives untouched by tyranny and according to their varying desires and their own consciences.

We came here with hope and determination. We leave here friends in fact, in spirit, and in purpose.

Signed at Teheran, Dec. 1, 1943.

ROOSEVELT.
STALIN
CHURCHILL.

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STATEMENT ON IRAN

The text of an Anglo-American-Soviet statement on December 1, 1943, concerning Iran:

THE PRESIDENT of the United States of America, the Premier of the U.S.S.R., and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, having consulted with each other and with the Prime Minister of Iran, desire to declare the mutual agreement of their three Governments regarding relations with Iran.

The Governments of the United States of America, the U.S.S.R. and the United Kingdom recognize the assistance which Iran has given in the prosecution of the war against the common enemy, particularly by facilitating the transportation of supplies from overseas to the Soviet Union. The three Governments realize that the war has caused special economic difficulties for Iran and they agreed that they will continue to make available to the Iran Government such economic assistance as may be possible, having regard to the heavy demands made upon them by their world-wide military operations and to the world-wide shortage of transport, raw materials and supplies for civilian consumption.

With respect to the post-war period, the Goverments of the United States of America, the U.S.S.R. and the United Kingdom are in accord with the Government of Iran that any economic problem confronting Iran at the close of hostilities should receive full consideration along with with these of other members of the United Nations by conferences or international agencies, held or created, to deal with international economic matters.

The Governments of the United States of America, the U.S.S.R. and the United Kingdom are at one with the Government of Iran in their desire for the maintenance of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Iran. They count upon the participation of Iran, together with all other peace-loving nations, in the establishment of international peace, security and prosperity after the war, in accordance with the principles of the Atlantic Charter, to which all four Governments have continued to subscribe.

STATEMENT ON THE CAIRO CONFERENCE

The text of the joint communqué on the Cairo Conference of President Roosevelt, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, and Prime Minister Winston Churchill

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and Prime Minister Churchill, together with their respective military and diplomatic advisers, have completed a conference in North Africa.

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The following general statement was issued:

"The several military missions have agreed upon future military operations against Japan.

"The three great Allies expressed their resolve to bring unrelenting pressure against their brutal enemies by sea, land and air. This pressure is already rising.

"The three great Allies are fighting this war to restrain and punish the aggression of Japan.

"They covet no gain for themselves and have no thought of territorial expansion.

"It is their purpose that Japan shall be stripped of all the islands in the Pacific which she has seized or occupied since the beginning of the first World War in 1914, and that all the territories Japan has stolen from the Chinese, such as Manchuria, Formosa, and the Pescadores shall be restored to the Republic of China.

"Japan will also be expelled from all other territories which she has taken by violence and greed.

"The aforesaid three great powers, mindful of the enslavement of the people of Korea, are determined that in due course Korea shall become free and independent.

"With these objects in view, the three Allies, in harmony with those of the United Nations at war with Japan, will continue to persevere in the serious and prolonged operations necessary to procure the unconditional surrender of Japan."

AGREEMENT OF FRIENDSHIP, MUTUAL ASSISTANCE AND POST-WAR COLLABORATION BETWEEN THE U.S.S.R. AND THE CZECHOSLOVAK REPUBLIC

THE President of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. and the President of the Czechoslovak Republic,

In their desire to modify and extend the agreement of mutual assistance existing between the U.S.S.R. and the Czechoslovak Republic signed at Prague May 16, 1935, and

In their desire to confirm the terms of the agreement between the U.S.S.R. and the Government of the Czechoslovak Republic about joint action in the war against Germany, signed at London, July 18, 1941,

In their desire to contribute after the war to the maintenance of peace and the prevention of further aggression on the part of Germany, and

To assure permanent friendship and post-war peaceful collaboration amongst themselves,

Have decided to conclude for this purpose an agreement and have appointed with this purpose as their plenipotentiaries:

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.: V. M. Molotoff, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs:

The President of the Czechoslovak Republic: Zdenek Fierlinger, Ambassador of the Czechoslovak Republic:

Who, having exchanged their cre-

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dentials, which have been found in perfect order, have drawn up in appropriate form and have agreed as follows:

Article I

The high contracting powers agree to unite in a policy of permanent friendship and friendly post-war collaboration, as well as mutual assistance of all kinds in the present war against Germany and all such states as are bound with her in acts of aggression in Europe.

Article II

The two high contracting powers undertake for the period of the war not to enter any sort of negotiations with the Hitlerite Government or any other Government of Germany which does not explicitly renounce all aggressive intentions, and also not to engage in negotiations toward or to conclude without mutual agreement any sort of treaty of peace with Germany or any other state bound with her in acts of aggression in Europe.

Article III

Reaffirming their pre-war policy of peace and mutual assistance, as expressed in the agreement signed at Prague on May 16, 1935, the high contracting powers undertake that in case one of them finds herself, in the post-war period, involved in hostilities with Germany, renewing her policy of Drang nach Osten, or with any other state that may unite with Germany directly or in any other form in such a war, then the other high contracting power will immediately render to the other contracting power thus involved in hostilities every military and other support and assistance within its power.

Article IV

The high contracting powers in the interest of each other's security agree to close and friendly collaboration in the period after the conclusion of peace and to act in accordance with the principles of mutual respect of their independence and sovereignty as well as noninterference in the internal affairs of the other state.

They agree to carry out economic relations between each other on the largest possible scale and to render each other all possible economic assistance after the war.

Article V

Each of the high contracting powers undertakes not to conclude any alliance and not to take part in any coalition directed against the other contracting power.

Article VI

The present agreement comes into force immediately after its signature and is subject to ratification at the earliest possible date. The exchange of ratification documents will take place at Moscow as early as possible. The present agreement remains in force for twenty years after signature, whereby if one of the high contracting powers will not make a declaration twelve months before its expiration to the effect that it desires to renounce the agree-

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ment, this agreement will continue to remain in force for a further period of five years. And so every time until one of the high contracting powers gives notice twelve months before the expiration of the current five-year period. In testimony whereof the plenipotentiaries have signed the present agreement and have put their stamps on it. The agreements have been drawn up in the Russian and Czechoslovak languages. Both texts have equal force.

Moscow, 12 December, 1943.

The plenipotentiary of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. Molotov.

The plenipotentiary of the President of the Czechoslovak Republic Fierlinger.

PROTOCOL TO THE AGREEMENT OF MUTUAL FRIENDSHIP, MUTUAL ASSISTANCE AND POST-WAR COLLABORATION BETWEEN THE U.S.S.R. AND THE CZECHOSLOVAK REPUBLIC, CONCLUDED 12 DECEMBER, 1943.

THE high contracting powers are agreed with regard to the conclusion of this present agreement of friendship, mutual assistance and post-war collaboration between the U.S.S.R. and the Czechoslovak Republic that should any third power bordering on the U.S.S.R. or the Czechoslovak Republic, and representing in this war an object of German aggression, express a desire to join the present agreement, the latter will be given the possibility of signing this agreement on the mutual agreement of the U.S.S.R. and the Czechoslovak Republic, thus making it a tripartite agreement.

The present protocol is drawn up in two copies in the Russian and Czechoslovak language, each text having equal force.

Moscow, 12 December, 1943.

Plenipotentiary of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. Molotov.

Plenipotentiary of the President of the Czechoslovak Republic Fierlinger.

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